A POLITICAL HISTORY

OF

MUSLIM SPAIN

(A revised and enlarged edition)

S. M. IMAMUDDIN

Najmahsons

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By

S. M. IMAMUDDIN

D. Phil. (Cal.), D. Phil. & Litt. (Madrid)

Reader in Islamic History and Culture,

University of Dacca.

Najmah Sons

1, Maneshwar 1st Lane, Dacca-9

Pakistan

Other Books of the Author :—

1. *A Political History of the Muslims* (*Prophet and Pious Caliphs*)
2. *A Political History of the Muslims* (*Umayyads and Abbasids*)
3. *A Modern History of the Middle East & North Africa* (1258-1939)
4. *A Modern History of the Middle East and North Africa* (1939-1961)
5. *Hispano-Arab Libraries* (A Memoir), Karachi, 1961.
6. *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1965.
7. *Economic History of Spain under the Umayyads* (711-1031 A. C.), Dacca (E. Pakistan), 1965.
8. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Khān Jahānī* of Ni'mat Allāh (A critical edition with a long Introduction in English), Vols. I & II, Dacca 1961, 1963.
9. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Sher Shāhī of 'Abbās Sarwānī* (A critical edition with an English translation in 2 volumes), Dacca (E. Pakistan), 1964.

First Edition 1961
Second Edition 1969

Published by
S. M. Shahabuddin

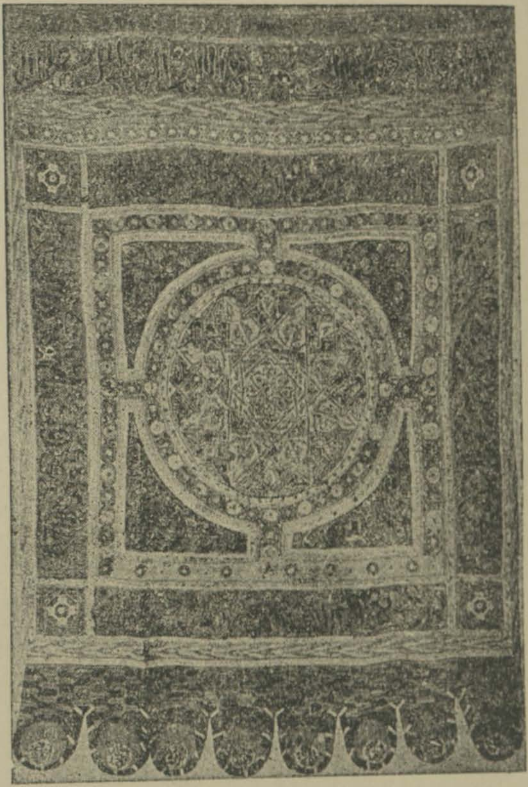
Price Rs. [redacted] (45 Shillings)

Printed by
Mobarak Ali Khan
Barna-Rupa Mudrayan
124, Fakirerpool, Dacca-2.
East Pakistan

To

The memory of my Sisters
Saiyidah Kanīz Fāṭimah
and Saiyidah Hājirah K͟hātūn

Plate No. 1.



A Muslim Standard (Said to have been captured by Alfonso IX at the battle of Navas de Tolosa in 1212 A. C.), now preserved in the Monastery of Huelgas, Burgos

PREFACE

The purpose of the present book is to provide a political history of Muslim Spain in a concise yet comprehensive form covering the period from the conquest of Spain by Musulmans in 711 to their final expulsion from the country in 1613 A.C. It deals critically with the conquests, settlement, rule and administration of the Muslims in Spain, the causes of their downfall and their expulsion from France and Spain, rise of the Christian states in the North and the condition of the Muslims called Moriscos under the Christians after the fall of Granada, the last resort of the Muslims. It is the story of a people, who flourished in western limit of the Muslim world for long eight centuries, enlightened the Europeans with Oriental culture, played a prominent part in civilizing them and enabled them to expand over a large part of the world. Their history is peculiar : partly for their own fault and shortcomings and partly for the zeal and fanaticism of the Spanish Christians they were gradually driven back having no parallel example in the history of Muslim world.

The want of a book of this kind has long been felt. To compress the history of about eight centuries into the pages of this short book and to include everything important has proved a difficult task. The period is extensive and many of the original sources are not available, consequently the author has not been able to carry out independent research and has had to depend greatly on results of the investigations made by other scholars in the field, in various languages, which are referred to in the footnotes. It, however, throws new light on the subject and also deals with the rule of Cordovan Muslims in Crete in an appendix.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

INTRODUCTION

Geographical features of Spain[1] :—Spain, a country of about one-third the size of Pakistan, comprises about eleven-thirteenths of the Iberian Peninsula. Having natural boundaries on all sides it is separated from North Africa by the Straits of Gibraltar fourteen miles in breadth and cut off from France and the rest of Europe by the Chains of the Pyrenees about three hundred miles in length. On the eastern and western sides, it is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean respectively. Representing an area of transition between the continents of Africa and Europe, it is linked up with Asia by the navigable waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Thus by its unique position the country mediates between the three continents in socio-economic, political and cultural contacts.

Although about seven-eighths of the Iberian Peninsula, the Andalus of the Arabs, is open to the sea for about 2,500 miles in length, there are few good harbours because there are only some indentations on its highly elevated coasts. The important ports of the north-eastern coast were Tarragona, Castellon and Valencia and those of the southern coast were Almeria, Malaga, Algeciras, Tarifa and Cadiz. In the west, the Douro and the Tagus rivers afford good harbours like Lisbon and Oporto and in the north-west, the irregular indentations of the coast of Galicia make for good ports like Corunna.

1. Cf. Imamuddin, S.M., *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and cultural History of Muslim Spain* (711-1492), Leiden, 1965, pp.1-9; Chapman, Charles E., *A History of Spain*, New York, 1954, pp. 1-5.

The central plateau called the Meseta and isolated from the coast occupies more than half the Peninsula tilting gently from east to west and from north to south. On the west the descent is long and gradual while on the east it is short and rapid. There is even more gentle sloping from the Pyrenees to the Guadalquivir. It stretches with its average altitude of 2.000 ft. above the sea level from the Cantabro-Asturian range of the Cantabrian mountains in the north to Sierra Morena (Mariánica range) in the south and again from the Iberian ranges and the Gulf of Valencia in the east to the Cantabro-Galician mountains extending up to the Douro river in the west The Meseta is divided into northern and southern sub-mesetas by the Montes de Toledo which also separate the basin of the Douro from that of the Tagus. The mountains of the Meseta with saw-edged silhouettes are lower than the Pyrenees in the north and the Sierra Nevada (Penibética range) in the south and the coastal ranges still further south.

There are only a few passes in the Pyrenees like Royces Valle, Pertus (Suinamo Pyrenoeo), Valle de Aran and Somport which connect Spain and France, but even these are covered with snow for about six monthe of the year. The passes on the border of the Meseta and the river valleys leading from the Meseta to the coast *viz*, the depressions of the Ebro, the Guadalquivir and its tributary Magana, and the Jalon have played an important role in the history of the country. The gorges of the Sierra de Guadarrama (Carpeto-Vetómica) provide comparatively easy routes between the two sub-mesetas (Old Castile and New Castile). Despite its hilly nature, the Iberian Peninsula under the Romans and the Arabs had an excellent system of road which connected all principal ports and towns.

Thirty-four Roman routes linked some 372 towns and covered a distance of 6,955 Roman leagues.[1]

A country of hills, Spain is full of rivers but, passing through deep rocky valleys, as they do, their waters are less used for navigation and irrigation purposes and their beds are often unable to contain the rain-water resulting in dangerous floods as the water descends in great quantity and with great rapidity. The greater part of the Peninsula in the west is irrigated by four large rivers, the Tagus, the Douro, the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir and a limited part in the north-east is watered by the Ebro. The rivers flowing into the Mediterranean Sea are short as compared with those flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. The longest of the rivers is the Tagus (565 metres). The others, in order of their lengh, are the Guadiana, the Douro, the Ebro, the Guadalquivir and the Minho. They are navigable only in their lower parts, the Tagus for 119 miles from Lisbon to Aramjuez and the Guadalquivir up to Seville. In medieval times boats could even sail up the Guadalquivir to Cordova.

The eastern rivers of the Meseta bring fresh and fertile sediment from the hills, spread it over the coastal areas and thus compensate for the dry climate by inundating the eastern part of Spain which abounds in fertile and green orchards. The rich valley of Andalusia in the south is formed by the sedimentary deposits of the Guadalquivir brought from the Meseta. In the north-east the Ebro, though not navigable, has enough water to inundate the surrounding lands between the eastern Pyrenees and the Sierra del Moncayo.

1. Cf. Dubler, *Uber das Wirtschaftsleben,* Switzerland, 1943, p. 8.

The climate is mild and rainy in winter and warm and dry in summer. The country has a temperate climate in the south and is very cold in the north. It rains heavily in Galicia and Cantabria and scantily in the regions of the Meseta which is the centre of cyclones in winter. The high plateau of Castile and La Mancha is dry and difficult for cultivation. Nearly half of the Peninsula is covered by barren hills and thorny forests and less than two-fifths of the total area is devoted to agriculture.

To counterbalance the disadvantages, the geographical features of the Peninsula have produced certain important benefits. The mountains all over the Peninsula contained forest products and mineral wealth like gold, silver, copper, iron and other metals for industrial use. The coastal plains, especially in the east and south, were very fertile and produced wheat, rice, olive, grape, orange, sugar-cane and other fruits, cereals and vegetables in abundance. The northern coast was of little agricultural value but was very rich pastorally.

The peculiar topography of the Peninsula which served as a land-bridge between North Africa aud Europe has had important consequences climatically, economically and historically and explains why primitive regional groups could preserve their ethnical character and dialects in spite of the occasional political unification of the country.

As a result of geographical features its different regions were isolated from one another and the people have preserved their racial characteristics, traits and customs. and developed the conservative clinging to their own institutions which helped greatly in vitalizing Spanish civilization. Wrile Castile, being isolated, remained for centuries the most backward area, the south and east coasts open

to easy conquest and susceptible to foreign influence were the most advanced parts economically and culturally.

The population of the Peninsula has suffered from political ebb and flow. It was fairly thickly populated during the time of the Romans but it suffered severely under the Vandals, Barbarians and Goths. The intelligentsia and wealthy section of the population e.g. the Jews, were exterminated and expelled from the country. With the arrival of the Muslims, however, prosperity came once more so that no land except only the frontiers of the two zones were left barren. The southern part was mainly inhabited by the Muslims and the northern by the Christians. With the reconquest of the country by the Christians and the ultimate expulsion of the Muslims and Jews, many towns and villages were ruined and deserted. Cordova of the 10th century was several times bigger than it is today. It had about a million inhabitants while today it has a population of only about 100,000. Granada of the 14th century had a population of about 400,000, while the modern city of Granada has only about 117,000 inhabitants.

The geography of Andalusia has played an important role in the political history of the country. Its geographical position has facilitated trade and commerce between Africa and Europe, the East and the West, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic world. It lies athwart the land and sea communications of these areas. There are a few countries which offer as many contrasts in their climate, fertility and aridity of their soil as Spain does. As a result, people of one part of the country differ from those of another part in their character and manners. The high elevation of the Meseta, the number of terraces and high

lands are a great hindrance to easy movement and inland communications. These features of Spanish geography especially in medieval times when there were no rapid means of communication encouraged the growth of the centrifugal rather than centripetal tendencies. Only a strong ruler with a powerful and noble army was able to exercise full control over the whole country, and ambitious governors and chiefs in distant provinces always exploited to their benefit the advantage of geographical isolation and declared their independence as soon as central authority was weak. The richness of the country in agriculture and minerals always attracted foreigners in the past throughout the recorded history and the centrifugal tendencies smoothened their path to success.

Spain on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest :- Within a century of the Hijrah, the empire of Islām extended from the Hindū Kush in the East to the Atlantic coast in the West. By playing on the rivalries between the sedentary and nomadic Berbers, the Muslims finally succeeded in establishing themselves in Tunisia. In 698 the Byzantines were driven from Carthage their capital in North Africa and soon after 700 the Muslims started penetrating through Algeria into Morocco. The resistance of the sedentary Berbers of these regions was crushed by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr recently appointed Governor of Tunisia (Ifriqiyah) in 708 directly responsible to the Umayyad Caliph, previously the administrative head of Qayrawān, the North African Muslims capital, had been under the Governor of Egypt. Ameer Ali says that while Ifriqiyah (North-West Africa) enjoyed the blessings of tolerance and justice and made rapid strides in material prosperity under Muslim rule, the neighbouring Iberian Peninsula groaned under the

iron heels of the Visigoths.[1] The Gothic kings had proved no better than their predecessors, the Suevi and the Vandals. The Goths had been in possession of Spain for about three centuries (409—712 A. D.), yet they had not succeeded in eliminating the legacy of oppression and misrule bequeathed by the last of the Caesars.[2] They had on the contrary made the condition of the people still worse. Their rule "is full of devastation, massacres, political assassinations, intestinal wars among the invading barbarians."[3] Internal peace was absent till Recared came to power and established an hereditary monarchy. As nobles strove for the principle of election, disturbances arose at every succession. The Visigothic monarchy, in short, proved to be an aggravation of the Roman regime.[4]

Social Condition :— On the eve of the Muslim conquest the Spaniards were divided into various social groups. There were the monarchs and the petty princes, the fathers of the Church, the lords and nobles, the burgesses, the serfs and the slaves. These could be grouped into two main classes : the ruling class (the king, the clergy and the nobles) and the subject class (the burgesses, the serfs, the slaves and the Jews).

1. *History of the Saracens*, London, *1951*, p. 106,

2. The evils of the Roman rule (206 B.C—409 A. D.) were the concentration of wealth, serfdom and slavery. Salvianus, a writer of the fifth century of the Christian era, writing about the condition of Spain under the last Caesars says, "Of all that she once possessed naught save her name remains." Cf. De Gubernatione Dei, IV, Bremaic, 1688, p. 60 quoted by Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, London, 1913, p. 215.

3. Louis Bertrand, *The History of Spain*, London, 1956, p. 18.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

By the beginning of the 8th century the Hispano-Roman and Visigothic nobles were fused together in a single privileged class called '*clasas elevadas*'. The ecclesiastical hierarchy, the archbishops and bishops, belonged to the upper class and played a considerable part in government administration. Due to the close association of the bishops and the kings many administrative policies were framed in Church Councils.

The priests were also divided into classes. The dignitaries of the Church possessed vast wealth and property and were subject to the control of ecclesiastical courts which wielded great influence on the laity. Instances were by no means rare of the clergy indulging in the pleasurable sport of king-making. The higher ecclesiastical posts had by now become hereditary and their incumbents looked down upon the lesser officials of the Church.

The princes and the landlords, who formed the aristocracy in Spanish society, spent their days in gambling, horsemanship and feasting. They lived in palatial buildings and seldom cared for the welfare of their subjects and tenants. They were hardly conscious of the fact that a state could not be maintained without the loyalty and co-operation of the subject.

The subjects could again be subdivided into two classes. The middle class included the curials or burgesses who were in charge of municipal affairs and possessed not more than twenty-five acres of land each. They had no power to alienate their estates and had to pay land-tax from their own pockets on behalf of the cultivators in case of the failure of crops.[1] Therefore, they often deserted

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 216.

their estates and entered military services or engaged in other servile occupations.

The lowest class of the Spanish society comprised the serfs and the slaves. The serfs, who were the Hispano-Romans of free status and successors of the Roman Coloni, were cultivators and occupied a position between the curials and the slaves. They had to supply labourers for tilling the soil and soldiers for fighting the battle.[1] The fate of the serfs was yoked with their lands to which they were attached. The sale of the land meant the sale of the serfs attached to it. They had to pay personal taxes, besides the land-tax, and were subject to corporal punishment. During the time of the last Roman rulers their condition had been but slightly better than that of the slaves. During the time of the Visigoths, however, human status and dignity were denied to the serfs as well as to the slaves. They had no individual freedom but were hewers of wood and drawers of water. A serf or a slave could not marry without his master's consent, and if he did so, his marriage was declared null and void and he was separated from his wife. If the serfs of two neighbouring estates inter-married, their children were divided equally between the two estates, and were sold in the market and treated like chattels. Slavery was so common that a free man sometimes possessed 4,000 to 8,000 slaves.[2] These slaves were divided by the Goths into several classes : ploughmen, shepherds, fishermen, blacksmiths and others To escape the tyranny of the privileged class, the people of the middle and the lower

1. King Wamba ordered each landlord to enroll in the army a tenth part of his serfs. Later the proportion rose to one-half. *Cf.*, Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 229.

2. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 217-8.

classes often fled to the forests and turned robbers or brigands. Sometimes they plundered cities which had been deprived of many of their municipal privileges and threatened the very foundation of society. Groaning under the grossest tortures and cruelties to which they were liable to be subjected if apprehended, their morality became as degraded as their material condition had deteriorated.[1]

Economic Condition :— Economically too, Spain, on the eve of the Muslim conquest, was not in a flourishing condition. The privileged class was, in general, exempt from taxation while the middle class had to bear the brunt of it being reduced, in the process, to ruin and misery. Ameer Ali says that industrial enterprise being killed by heavy imposts, a terrible sterility prevailed all over the eountry.[2] Neither the serfs nor the slaves possessed any landed property. Whenever the burghers, serfs and slaves failed to meet the excessive demands of their masters, the landowners and the government, they were penalised and tortured. To escape their tyranny they took refuge in forests and joined the bandits. Mills and factories were closed. Irrigation was stopped and lands were left fallow. Roads, which remained unrepaired and unguarded, became the hunting ground of robbers. Therefore movement from one place to another became unsafe and trade and commerce came to a standstill. The whole structure of economic society was broken down to be reconstructed by the Muslims in the 8th century.

Religious Condition : — There was no religious toleration

1. Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, p, 107 ; Cf. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 228.

2. *History of the Saracens*, p. 106.

in the country.[1] The Goths believed in the Arian form of Christianity. But in 587 A. C. one of their rulers, Recared (586-601 A. C.) by name, accepted Catholicism which had been despised by the Romans.[2] He is famous in Spanish history for the establishment of Catholicism as the State religion. Since that time Catholic Spain had been known for orthodoxy and its intolerance towards other religions. The Jews could expect nothing but harsh treatment at the hands of Catholic Christians. The bishops inflicted untold miseries on these Jews who were to be found in large numbers in Spain and who formed the intelligentsia and rich class in Spanish society. Persistent efforts were made to convert them to Christianity. In 611 A. C. Sisebut, the Gothic King, issued a decree according to which the Jews were to be forcibly baptized on pain of banishment and confiscation of their property. As a result about 90,000 Jews accepted Christianity albeit only in name. From time to time councils were held at Toledo, the then capital of the country, and laws were passed for the persecution of the Jews and their forced conversion. Between 612 and 620 another about 90,000 Jews were forcibly baptized. Edwyn Hole observes. "The *Fuero Juzgo* of the 7th century forbade the celebration of the passover or circumcision or marriage according to Jewish rite and laid down that any Jew who failed to give his child Christian baptism should receive a hundred lashes, forfeit his land to the king and have his

1. *Cf.*, Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, IV, Madrid 1950, pp. 4–5.

2. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 223 & n2 ; Castro gives 589 A. D. as the date of his conversion to Catholicism ; *Cf.*, *The Structure of Spanish History*, 1954, p. 63

head shaven for a sign."[1] In 681 the 12th council again decided to baptize them or to expel them. The decrees of the Council of 693 made the Jews unable to continue as merchants. Many of the Jews then conspired with their Jewish brethren in North Africa against the Goths. Further in 694 another council passed order for their sale into slavery excluding their children under seven years who were to be baptized and brought up as Christians. The aggrieved Jews, therefore, planned a general revolt against the Gothic king with the help of their Berber co-religionists of North Africa and their brethren who had taken refuge in the land across the Straits of Gibraltar. Their plan, however, proved abortive and their failure resulted in dire consequences. "Their goods and chattels, in fact all they possessed, were confiscated." [2] Those, who survived the general massacre, were condemned to slavery. Old and young, male and female, were made over as slaves to the Christians. Old ones were generally allowed to retain their religion but the young were to be brought up in the Christian faith. Marriages within the community were forbidden, and a Jewish slave was henceforth to marry a Christian slave. The Jews waited and prayed for the day of deliverance.

Political Condition :— At the time when Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr[3] was the Viceroy of Ifrīqīyah the Iberian throne had been occupied by Roderick (Ar. Ludhriq), the duke of

1. *Andalus : Spain under the Muslims*, London, 1958, pp. 5. 10.
2. Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, p. 107.
3. Musa's father Nuṣayr was brought as a prisoner from Ain Tamar, hundred miles from Iṣṭakhr (Ctesiphon in Iran), by the famous general Khalid b. Walid. Musa was born in 19/640 and was educated in Syria. During the Khilafat of Abdul Malik he worked as a tax-collector under the Governor of Basrah. During his viceroyalty of

Baetica by killing King Witiza,[1] who had succeeded his father Egica in 702 A.D. and appointed his own son Achila (Akhila) Governor of Tarraconensis. Witiza's son and successor Achila had been deposed and driven to Galicia from Toledo.

The monarchy lacked strength. The king was elected by the upper classes especially the bishops who had great say in the matter. There was no fixed law of succession. Some king tried to secure the succession of a son by associating him with them in administration. This was often resented by a section of the nobility who indulged in constant intrigues over the succession. The last thirty years' rule of the Visigoths after the dethronement of Wamba in 680 A. C. was a period of chaos and confusion in Spain. Rivalry among the nobles for the capture of the throne of Toledo gave time and opportunity to the distant governors and disloyal chiefs to carve out independent principalities. The centre being weak and the soldiery being unpaid, hardly any successful attempt was made to crush their rebellion. The king did not have the requisite military strength because of its unsatisfactory nature. All capable men were supposed to render military service, if summoned by the king, but they were not obliged to do so, as later they had to do under feudal aristocracy which arose in western Europe.

Egypt, 'Abd al 'Aziz appointed Musa, who had fled to him from Basrah, Governor of Ifrīqīyah in about 79/698 in place of Hasan b. al-Nu'man. Having Qayrawan as the seat of his government he consolidated Arab power in Ifriqiyah and conquered the rest of North Africa and Spain up to Galicia from where he returned in Dhu al-Hijjah 95/ Sept, 714 with immense booty. He was one of the most renowned generals of his time.

1. Dozy (*Spanish Islam*, p. 231) writes Witica. Altamira says that Witiza died a natural death at the end of 708 or in the beginning of 709 A. C. (*Cf. Spain under the Visigoths* in *Cambridge Medieval History*, II 1913, p. 182).

Towards the end of the 7th century the Gothic rulers found difficulty in raising adequate army. This was because the Visigothic rulers tried to apply the Germanic conception of tribal rule to circumstances then prevailing in Spain for which it was not suited.

The immediate prelude to the Muslim invasion was the division among the upper classes over the question of succession. Father and son reigned since 687. As Witiza wanted one of his sons Achila to succeed him and associated him in the administration by appointing him governor (dux) of the north-east province, Tarraconensis, a rival party of the ecclesiastical group stood against Witiza's house and ultimately succeeded in electing Roderick king. Behaving like an independent ruler, Achila appears to have retained his Province and minted coins. Count Julian (Ar. Ilyān) son-in-law of Witiza and Governor of Ceuta, according to tradition, had sent his daughter Florinda [1] to the court of Roderick to receive training and to learn manners. Florinda was seduced by Roderick. In order to take revenge Count Julian joined the Spanish refugees in Ifrīqīyah in their appeal for the liberation of the country from the usurper's yoke and supplied Mūsā with valuable information regarding the internal situation in Spain. The Western historians like Hitti [2] and Hole [3] are inclined to discount this fact, but do not pause to explain why Julian who had defended Ceuta and had not allowed Muslims to take possession of it so long, later on, not only handed over

1. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IV. p. 443 ; Altamira doubts the story of the molestation of Florinda daughter of Julian or Uban (Olban) (*Cf*., *Spain under the Visigoths* in *Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. II, Cambridge. 1913. p. 84).

2. *History of the Arabs*, London, 1951. p. 494 nl

3. *Andalus*, p. 21.

Ceuta to them but helped Mūsā actively in every possible way in the conquest of Spain. The behaviour of Julian indicates that he must have been wronged by Roderick and the only incident of which the contemporary historians both 'Arab and Spanish have made any mention is the episode of Florinda. Roderick was consequently opposed by a very powerful party headed by the brothers and sons of the late king and forced to depend on an unreliable army. Among Witiza's brothers, Oppas, and Sisbert, and among his sons, Achila, were men of great influence. In the absence of unity among the Visigothic nobles and the members of the Visigothic royal family, chaos and confusion reigned in the country.

The impoverished citizens, the wretched slaves, the miserable serfs, the persecuted Jews, all waited for a saviour who ultimately came from Muslim Ifrīqiyah, where many Spaniards had already found refuge. The privileged class including the rich land-lords who were incharge of running the administration of the State had become easeloving and had lost all their energy and power. The mis-government of the Visigoths, the excessive influence enjoyed by the priests, internal factions, jealousies and intrigues and the discontent of the subject people were the real causes of the downfall of the Visigothic State. The defence of the decaying and crumbling kingdom had been entrusted to the irregularly paid soldiers who were far more disposed to make a common cause with the foes than to fight for their own masters. These germs of discontent reduced the Visigothic army to such an extremity of weakness that a Muslim army consisting of only 12,000 soldiers was able to overthrow it at one blow. [1]

1. *Cf*, Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 230.

CHAPTER I

MUSLIM CONQUEST OF SPAIN

Tariq lands in Spain :- In response to the prayers of the Spanish refugees in North Africa and of Julian, possibly a Byzantine exarch, the Governor of Ceuta (Septem), Mūsā b. Nuṣayr sought for the sanction of Khalīfah Walīd of Damascus for leading an expedition into Spain. Permission was granted but only to make a foray and Mūsā despatched Ṭarīf [1] in July 710 with four hundred foot and one hundred horse, all Berbers, to survey and reconnoitre the southern coast of the Peninsula. [2] They crossed into Spain in four vessels. The report was favourable and Ṭāriq bin Ziyād, [3] whom Mūsā had appointed governor of Tangier, was sent to Spain on the 8th Rajab 92 (30th April 711) with an

1. Ṭarīf b. Malik Nakhī was the leader of the first Muslim reconnoitring party sent to Spain in Ramaḍan 911 (July 710). The island where he landed is known after him as Ṭarifah. He raided successfully the vicinity of Algeciras and returned with immense booty and a large number of captives. After this nothing is known about him. Historians are not unanimous regarding his nationality. Some say he was an 'Arab while others relate that he was a Berber. (*Cf.*, Riyasat 'Ali, the *Ta'rikh-i-Undalus*, I, A'zamgarh (India), 1950, pp. 68-69 ; Levi-Provencal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p. 699.

2. On the authority of Tabari, Ibn Athir and Gibbon, Saiyid Riyasat 'Ali says that before this the Muslims invaded Spain twice in the reigns of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthman and Mu'awiyah as they desired to conquer Constantinople by the way of Europe through Spain. But the details of these invasions are not known (*The Ṭa'rikh-i-Undalus*, vol, I, pp. 63-65)

3. Ṭariq b. Ziyad b. 'Abd Allah al-Laythi was a Berber neo-Muslim. About his genealogy, historians like. Ibn 'Idhari and Ibn Khaldun, are not certain. They, however, came to the conclusion that he was a Berber either of the Nafzah or the Zanatah tribe. He was a slave of Musa. By virtue of his talents he became his

army of 7,000 men most of whom were Berbers. The strength of his army was subsequently raised to 10,300 or 12,000. He crossed into Spain in four merchant vessels supplied by Julian and landed near the Rock, which still bears his name — Gibraltar (Jabal al-Ṭāriq, the Rock of Ṭāriq).[1] There he constructed later a mosque named *Rayat*.[2] Having fortified the Rock properly to serve as a base of operations he marched along the coast from Gibraltar westwards capturing Carteya[3] and the *Lagun de Janda*. Theodomir, who ruled over the south-eastern part of Spain sent a messenger to Roderick informing him about the landing of the Muslims.

Battle of the Wadi Lakko and the Defeat of the Visigoths :— Roderick was engaged at that time in quelling a disturbance in the north but the moment he heard of the invasion of Ṭāriq he hurried to his capital and summoned all his feudal chiefs to join him at Cordova with their contingents. His own army was vast, with the feudal auxiliaries the forces at his disposal swelled to 100,000 man.[4] The two armies unequally matched in numbers met on the

favourite and one of his great military officers. Because of his competence he was appointed commander of the Tangier garrison. Under the orders of Musa he conquered Spain and later he was recalled with Musa by Khalifah Walid (Cf. Levi-Provencal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, pp. 699-700 ; *Cf.*, Riyasat 'Ali, I, p. 71 & n 1).

1. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. IV. p, 444.
2. Ibn al-Khatib, *Khilafat-i-Muwahhidin* (Urdu translation), p. 8.
3. Carteya was captured by an 'Arab officer under Ṭariq named 'Abd al-Malik of the tribe of Mu'afir, from whom the famous Ḥajib al-Manṣur was eighth in descent.
4. Saiyid Riyasat 'Ali, *The Ta'rikh-i-Undalus*, Vol. I, p. 77 ; Gomez, E. G. — *Historia de Espana*, Tomo IV, p. 13.

27th Ramaḍān 92 (the 19th July 711)[1] at Sharish (Sp. Jerez) near Arcos de la Frontera in the valley of the Wādī Lakko(Rio Barbate) on the shores of the *Lagun de Janda*, between the lake and the town of Medina Sidonia.[2] A furious battle was fought for seven days. The sons of Witiza and also his brother Bishop Oppas, who had joined Roderick at his request and led the two wings of the Spanish army, broke away from the main force after the first onslaught, not because they wanted the Muslims to succeed but because they hated the usurper and desired his downfall. They thought that the Muslims after amassing booty would return to Africa and that Roderick would be killed in the battle or at least disgraced. Thus their chance of return to power would be assured. The force in the centre under the command of Roderick was still strong, well equipped and disciplined but consisted mainly of dissatisfied serfs who were ready to turn their backs upon the foe. They resisted the Muslims' onslaught for a time but the last blow of Ṭāriq was irresistible and the Gothic army was completely routed. The King himself probably fell in his flight or was drowned in the river, for, at all events, he disappeared from history after this engagement. It was a blunder on the part of Roderick to have thrown his whole force in the battle without keeping a reserve to check the possible advance of the Muslims. Ṭāriq had not expected such a great

1. Dozy (*Spanish Islam*, p. 232) gives 9th July 711 but Ameer Ali (*History of the Saracens*, p. 109) gives middle of Ramadan 92 (Sept. 711) as the date of this battle. For the summary of the memorable lecture delivered by Tariq to his soldier a night before this battle see Riyasat 'Ali, Vol. I, pp. 79-82.

2. E. G. Gomez, *Historia*, IV, p. 14 and the map.

victory. He informed Mūsā of the result of his invasion. Although the latter wrote back asking Ṭāriq to await his arrival. Being a shrewd strategist, he did not consider it wise to wait and allow time and opportunity to the Christians to reorganize themselves. Ṭāriq to the utter surprise of the political enemies of Roderick instead of amassing booty and of returning began to conquer city after city.

Further Conquest :— The moral effect of this defeat on the Christians was so great that the Spaniards became frightened of facing the Muslims again in the open field but only on a local or regional basis. The whole socio-political fabric of the country had been disrupted and completely disintegrated as a result Spain was easily ravaged by the Muslims from end to end without facing any serious resistance. After the defeat of Roderick the Christians fled with colossal losses in money and men. The disaffected serfs and Jews instead of opposing the Muslims welcomed them. Only a few aristocrats and independent chiefs could muster courage to resist the Muslims stubbornly on a regional basis. Elvira and Archidona were, however, subdued by a small detachment. Ṭāriq's main force pushed forward through Ecija to Toledo, the capital of the Gothic kings. The pocket of Visigothic fugitives did offer vigorous resistance at Ecija [1] but it ultimately capitulated on honourable terms. Cordova fell without much difficulty after two months' siege through the help of a shepherd, who is said to have pointed out a

1. There was scarcity of drinking water in Ecij After its conquest Tariq brought water through the canal known s Ayn Ṭariq cutting through a river which flowed four miles way from the town. (*Cf*, *Majmu'ah Akhbar Andalus, p.* 9)

breach in the city wall. It is recorded that four hundred Christians under the leadership of the city magistrate took shelter in a city church. A general named Mughīth then blocked the canal which supplied water to the church and asked them to accept Islam or to pay the *jizyah* but the Christians refused to accept either. They submitted only when finally the church was set on fire in Muḥarram 93 (Oct.-Nov. 711). The regiment sent to the east Spain (*L'vante*) conquered Malaga and Orihuela.

In short, the whole of Spain, the land between Valencia and Almeria with its capital at Orihuela, held by Theodomir on behalf of Roderick, was quickly reduced to subjection. Theodomir was, however, allowed to rule as governor, with a right to enjoy internal freedom on payment of tributes, over the province of Murcia which later on became known after his name as Tudmir. The aristocracy and the higher ranks of the priesthood did not await the arrival of Muslims but betook themselves to places of safety. The common people, however, hailed the Muslims as deliverers and the Jews undertook with delight to hold down for the Muslims their conquered cities At Toledo which had been abandonned by the aristocracy, the Christians were betrayed by the Jews and the capital fell almost without any resistance into the hands of the Muslims. The booty included twenty-four golden crowns inscribed with the dates of coronation and death, the name and age of each king. They were found hidden in a church.[1] Achila was given back his estates in Toledo consisted of 3,000 farms which well speak of the extreme concentration of land in the hands

1. The *Ta'rikh-i-Undalus*, p, 94 n. 1

of the Visigoths, and Bishop Oppas was appointed governor of Toledo. In recognition of his services Count Julian was given the province of Ceuta. His descendants ruled over it as Christians. Ṭāriq thus became master of nearly half of Spain including the central and eastern parts of the country by the end of the summer of 711 A. D. He had achieved this distinction by destroying the Gothic power. The Muslims and their allies, now settled down in towns evacuated by Christian nobles who took refuge in the North. The Muslim chiefs who had conquered various districts and towns were appointed as governors. Lacking in number the Muslims could not afford to garrison every city so they allowed many towns to be administered by independent councils.

Musa Arrives :—The success of Ṭāriq roused the jealousy of his superior and patron, Mūsā, who had so long remained passive in Ifrīqīyah. Desiring for himself the fame and the material advantages obtained from the conquest of Spain, Mūsā advanced thither with 18,000 troops and landed in Rajab 93/June 712 at a rocky place in the island of Khiḍrā to complete the conquest begun by his lieutenant. His army consisted of many 'Arab nobles of Yaman including Ḥabīb bin Abu 'Abdah Fihri,[1] the ancestor of Yūsūf al-Fihrī, several descendants of the companions of the Prophet, and some Berber chiefs. Mūsā was also accompanied by Count Julian who had returned meanwhile to Ifriqiyah with many other Christian princes. Purposely avoiding Ṭāriq's tracks, Mūsā took a north-western course. He first of all conquered the towns which were still holding

1. *Khilafat-i-Muwahhidin* (Urdu), p. 8.

out, especially Medina Sidonia[1] and Carmona. Seville[2] was conquered by Mūsā after a siege of a few months. Then came the turn of the capture of Niebla (Huelva) and Beja. Mūsā met with obstinate resistance at Merida. The garrison at Merida, however, surrendered after a siege of full one year on the Ist June 713. With the laurels of victory Mūsā entered Toledo where Ṭāriq awaited him. The meeting of the two conquerors was attended by exchange of swords characteristic of the age According to Dozy and Hole, Mūsā whipped Ṭāriq as the latter had disobeyed the former.[3] They were, however, soon reconciled and gold coins were struck in the name of Mūsā bearing inscriptions in Latin. Mūsā and Ṭāriq proceeded towards Aragon. Count Fortun, the Governor of Aragon, surrendered and accepted Islam. Saragossa, Barcelona, Asturica (Astorga), Legio and Amaya, the capital of Cantabria, capitulated to Mūsā. Other cities of the North opened their gates in succession, and in less than two years almost the whole of Spain, as far as the Pyrenees in the north, fell into the hands of the Muslims. Barcelona, Pamplona, Lerida, Huesca, Gerona and Tortosa enjoyed internal freedom by paying tributes.

Mūsā did not wait for the conquest of the remaining parts of north-west Spain but crossed the Pyrenees and reduced a part of Languedoc which belonged to the Gothic

1. Ibn 'Idhari, Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

2. Seville was the intellectual centre and one of the largest city of Spain. It had been the seat of government for centuries under the Romans, and even under the Goths it had not lost its former splendour.

3. *Spanish Islam*, p. 233 ; *Andalus*, p. 21.

dominion. Narbonne, Avignon (Avennis) and Lu<u>dh</u>ūn (Lyon)[1] also fell. But Pepin of Heristal, the founder of the Carolingian dynasty in France, who was called Qarlah by the Arabs, reconquered the last two towns and besieged Narbonne. He, however, could not overcome the Muslim resistance and fortified his frontier cities, situated on the Rhone (Rudano) which the Muslims did not cross because their entry into France was not sanctioned by Walīd. The Muslims found near the river Rhone an inscription which had either been placed by Pepin, the ruler of France, or Mu<u>gh</u>ī<u>th</u>, the messenger of Walīd, reading, "Sons of Ismā'īl hitherto and no further—Return!'[2] Walīd rejoiced at the tidings of victory but was sad to send his troops to distant lands risking their lives. The report of the hardship of the Muslims at Narbonne had reached Walīd who opposed Mūsā's proposal to unite Syria and Spain by conquering the whole of southern Europe. An order from Walīd stopped Mūsā from pushing farther into France with a view to conquering the rest of south-eastern Europe and marching back to Syria through Europe and Asia Minor. Mūsā then turned his attention to complete the reduction of the mountainous parts of north-western Spain where a number of Christians had taken refuge. He entered Galicia, captured the fortresses of Leon, Lugo and other places and drove the enemy into the rocky defiles of the Asturias. Cowed down by the indomitable courage and activities of the Muslim general, the guerrilla bands of the Christians submitted one after another until there remained

1. Ibn al-Athir, Vol, IV, p. 447; Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p, 112; Nafh al-Ṭib. Vol. I, p. 128 cited in the *Ta'rikh-i-Undalus*, p. 115.

2. Cf., Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 358n3

Pelayo alone with thirty men and ten women hidden in Covadonga, the rocky defiles of the Asturias. Pelayo was left unsubdued and the Asturias unconquered. The result was that the unsubdued chief and the unconquered hilly tract became later on very important causes for the ruin of the Muslims in Spain and finally their expulsion from the country.

Recall of Mūsā and Ṭāriq :– Just at this time (95/714) another letter of recall signed by Walīd reached Mūsā through a messenger named Abū Naṣr. Abū Naṣr met Mūsā at Lak (Lugo) in Galicia and requested him to return leaving the conquest unfinished. Mūsā and Ṭāriq left Spain in Dhū'l ḥijjah 95 (Sept. 714), the former had been in Spain for three years and four months and the latter two years and four months. Mūsā and Ṭāriq's departure enabled Pelayo to fortify himself in the mountains and there form the nucleus of the power which in later times was to destroy one by one all the Muslim petty states in the South. On his way to Damascus Mūsā received a letter from Walīd who was seriously ill, asking him to hasten to the capital, and another from Prince Sulaymān asking him to delay till the death of Walīd, Mūsā continued his march unheeding their contradictory orders and reached Damascus in February 715 about forty days before Walīd died. This displeased Sulayman and gave him a pretext to ruin the glorious career of the great general. Mūsā died at the age of seventy-eight in Dhū'l hijjah 97 (July 716), when he went to Makkah with the caravan of Khalīfah Sulaymān. Ṭāriq lived the rest of his life in misery and died in obscurity.

The political unity of the country, which had vanished in the break-up of Visigothic power, was restored by the Muslims. Before leaving Spain, Mūsā made all necessary arrangements for the newly conquered country. He appointed his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Governor of the newly conquered Spain attached to the Viceroyalty of North Africa, with Seville as the seat of government. 'Abd Allāh, another son and a great warrior, was left in charge of Ifrīqīyah, whilst 'Abd al-Malik, the youngest son, ruled over Morocco. 'Abd al-Ṣāliḥ held the command of the coast and of the fleet with Tangiers as headquarters.

Causes of the Easy Conquest of Spain :— The Muslims took over the Gothic territory by force and by peaceful subjection. The miserable socio-political conditions of Spain was a contributory factor for the Muslim invasion. The cleavage between the Visigoths who entered Spain in early fifth century as rulers and the Spanish Roman population was still not obliterated. They also had to struggle against their predecessors, other Germanic races, the Suevi and the Vandals, for power. The general body of people in Spain looked upon Muslims as their saviours and benefactors and this is why they at once joined hands with the Muslim invaders and rendered every possible help to them to enable them to complete the conquest of the peninsula in such a short time. From the statements made above it is clear that the Spaniards could not resist the invasion of the Arabs who were fired with religious fervour and zeal. The Berbers, who formed the chief element of the advancing army, were no less hardy and brave than the Arabs. One of the principal causes of the conquest of Spain, according to Ibn Ḥayyān, was the appointment of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr as the governor-general of North Africa.

Being an ambitious man and a great general Mūsā conquered the vast territory of North Africa and thought of conquering Spain as well. Above all it was the determination which made Ṭāriq advance towards Toledo after the battle of Guadalete with only 12,000 soldiers, while the Hispano-Visigoths could not mount an adequate counterattack by integrating the two rival factions.

According to Maqqarī, another important cause was the discontentment of Ilyān. He was ruling over a portion of North Africa with Ceuta as his headquarters on behalf of Witiza, the Gothic ruler of Toledo.[1] He did not like the behaviour of Roderick, the usurper of the throne of Toledo mentioned above, and instead of defending himself against the Muslim atack as before he invited Mūsā to launch an attack on Andalus.

To these main causes of the conquest we must add the discontentment of the Jews and slaves many of whom had already taken refuge in North Africa. On the arrival of the Muslims in Spain most of the Spanish Jews, Serfs and slaves welcomed the newcomers in the hope of getting rid of the tutelage of the Gothic rule. To these the internal weakness of the Gothic government, already discussed, may also be added. In their advance into Spain the geographical factors also favoured the Muslims. Spain was separated from Africa on the south-western border by only the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. It was on the African side that the Muslim power was firmly established. Muslim rule did not extend to central Africa due to the barrier of the Ṣaḥārah desert but found it easier to extend across the Straits of Gibraltar in Europe.

1. Gayangos, *The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, Vol. I, pp. 251, 253 & 255.

Effects of the Conquest :— The Muslim conquest of Spain brought about changes in every sphere of life. In the beginning it was considered as a mere invasion. With the settlement of Muslim colonies and the erection of mosques and palaces, however, the Visigoths became convinced of their permanent downfall. The toleration of the Muslim rulers, however, mitigated to some extent the bitterness of their defeat. The payment of tribute and obedience to the new rulers ensured protection and justice to the humblest peasant. The Christians and the Jews were allowed to perform their religious rituals and ceremonies unhampered. Sometimes, however, this principle of toleration was not rigorously followed. Dozy says, "...their rule, at first mild and humane, degenerated into intolerable despotism."[1] Thus the possession of the Cathedral of San Vicente in Cordova was guaranteed to the Christians by the Muslim conquerors while other churches were destroyed. On the increase of the Muslim population in the town, half of the Cathedral was appropriated in 748 A. D. for the use of mosque without paying respect to the terms of the treaty. Dozy says, "This was clearly an act of spoliation, as well as, an infraction of the treaty."[2] 'Abd al-Raḥmān I bought the other half of the Cathedral for 100,000 dinars[3] and gave them in lieu the permission to rebuild the churches destroyed previously. Hole says, "New churches are allowed to be built up to the fall of the Caliphate, and the bells call the congregation to worship."[4] Against the terms of

1. *Spanish Islam*, p. 239.
2. *Ibid*, p. 239.
3. About £ 440,000 (Dozy, p. 239).
4. *Andalus*, p. 30. Hole says that the *d̲h̲immis* paid the jizyah and suffered other disabilities, including the risk of fanatical mob violence

the treaty concluded between Ṭāriq and Witiza's son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I confiscated the estates of Ardabast (Artavasdes) brother of Achila without puting forward any valid ground for it.[1]

For these deviations from the general policy of toleration the individual rulers were responsible. The terms and wordings of the treaties were considered sacred by the Musulmans. Luis Viardot says that the fusion of the conqueror and the conquered gradually did away with the harm done by the Muslim conquest to Spain;[2] while Hole remarks, "Muslim rule was lighter, and their taxes less oppressive" than that of the Goths.[3] The accounts of some writers regarding the atrocities committed by the Muslims are exaggerated. It cannot be denied that during war time the Spaniards suffered when they resisted the Muslim advance and their churches were demolished when they were used as forts and places of refuge. But absolute freedom of person, property and religion was granted to them on timely submission. This was appreciated by the Spaniards. The introduction of the Islamic code freed the people as well as the land from feudal bondage. The Spaniards were allowed to be governed in accordance with their own laws and by their own judges though the church officials were appointed and its council was called by the Amir or the Caliph. In lieu of military service, the earning members of non-Muslim families had to pay the

which was, however, rarer than might have been expected. The genuine Muslims probably felt more respect for the Christians than for the neo-Muslims. *Cf. Andalus*, p. 49

1. *Cf.* Dozy, p. 239,

2. *Cf. Historia de los Arabes y de los Moros de Espana*, Barcelona-1844 p. 205.

3. *Andalus : Spain under the Muslims*, London, 1958 p, 21.

jizyah varying from twelve to forty-eight dirhams[1] a year. Hole observes, "Those that remained faithful to Christianity were by no means reduced to serfdom, but kept their independence, so long as they paid their poll-tax."[2] The existing arrangement of local government was retained. Tax-collectors were appointed from among the native people of Spain generally religious head of each community. The landed property of those who surrendered to the Muslims was not confiscated. For example, the property of the Meridans and of the people who lived in the province of Tudmir comprising Alicante, Orihuela, Lorca, Mula etc. and of the people of some other towns belonging to the Gothic princes was left intact[3] subject, of course, to the payment of a nominal land-tax called Kharāj, one-tenth of the produce. But the property of those Christians, who fought to the last against the Muslim army and were defeated and killed or fled away and that of the churches of the conquered towns, was confiscated and distributed among the Muslim soldiers. Four-fifths of this confiscated land went to the soldiers who divided it among themselves on tribal and group basis and the remaining one-fifth called *khums* belonged to the State. The state holdings were re-allotted to the Serfs on easy terms. The lands of the Muslim soldiers were also given over to the Serfs. The cultivators advanced economically as the land-tax was comparatively lighter and they were relieved from the evil of the vast estates the lands being divided among a large number of proprietors. The proceeds from movable booty sold to dealers were

1. Four dirhams — about £1 in present value.
2. *Andalus* p. 48,
3, *Cf.*, Hole, *Andalus*, *p*. 48

divided among the soldiers and about 750 a transition took place from a stipendiary class to a land owning class and soon after 750 stipend system fell into disuse and in course of time many of the Muslims became landlords. The Serfs who were attached to the lands were left undisturbed, rather they were given the right of alienating themselves from their lands. This right, as Dozy says, had never been enjoyed by them before[1] under the Visigoths or the Romans. The cultivators of the lands voluntarily surrendered paid one-tenth of the produce and those of the confiscated land had to pay in the beginning one-fifth of the produce but after 723 A.C. they all paid one-fifth of the produce.[2] Dozy says that they paid even four-fifths of the produce to their new Muslim landlords.[3] Jeronimo Lopez de Ayala and others accept Dozy's view without scrutiny. But there is no indication of the collection of this heavy land-tax in the medieval literature. In Spain it varied between one-sixth and one-half according to the quality of the land.[4]

A social revolution was effected. Peasant proprietorship was instituted and the power of the privileged class was reduced almost to negation. The condition of the slaves improved and they were enfranchised. Social equality was granted to all; Suevi, Goth, Vandal, Roman and Jew alike. The Jews gained a lot as the harsh Visigothic laws were repealed and they were employed in the government as allies of the Muslims. In due course of time Cordova

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, P. 235.

2. Lopez, *Contribuciones e impuestos en Leon y Castilla durante la Edad Media*, Madrid, 1898, pp. 93-94.

3. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 234.

4. Al-Fihri, *Al-Sifr al-Thānī min al-Wathā'iq*, fols. 116b, 117a.

became the world's centre for the study of Judaism. By their acts of equity, toleration and mercy, the Muslim rulers won the hearts of the people. In spite of many disadvantages due to the frequent changes of governors (*amirs*) and continuation of tribal jealousies in the early period of the Muslim rule in Spain, the Muslims succeeded in reorganizing the machinery of the government and in raising the social status of the people.[1] In due course of time Spain under the Muslims became a centre of light and learning in Europe.

Of the various invasions, the Muslim conquest was most far reaching in its effects and the Muslim influence was more manifest in Cordova, Seville and Granada than in other cities. Many facets of Arabic culture survive still in the monuments of Spanish cities specially Cordova, Seville and Granada. A fusion came of the old Hispano-Roman traditions with those of the Muslims though the Moorish traditions dominated. There were wars between Muslim rulers and Christian chiefs but there were also inter changes, intrigues and treatries with the guarantee for rights of the conquered.

4. *Cf.* Riyāsat 'Alī, *Ta'rikh-i-Undalus*, pp. 221-227,

CHAPTER II

THE DEPENDENT 'IMĀRAT AND CIVIL WARS

(714-756 A. C.)

Governors :— After the defeat of Roderick Spain lost its independence and became a part of the Muslim Empire of Damascus. The bond uniting Spain to Qayrawān and Damascus was not infact very tight. As Umayyad Caliph far from being autocrat acted as first among equals, his position became weak in a wide spreading empire. Some of the later Umayyad caliphs however tended towards the autocratic Persian tradition of statecraft. On conquering wide territories his generals assumed the role of provincial governors. Spain was administered for about forty-four years by a governor called *Amīr*. The *Amīr* ruled almost independently, though nominally he was under the Governor-General of al-Maghrib (North Africa and Spain) residing in Qayrawān. Sometimes the *Amīr* received his appointment from the *Khalīfah* at Damascus and suffered from dual control which was not conducive to good government. The *amirs*, subject to the caprices of the Governor-General and the *Khalīfah*, did not pay much respect to the *Khalīfah*, who was some 2,500 miles away from Spain, It often happened that Hispano- 'Arab Muslims deposed one *Amīr* and set up another and had merely to inform the Governor-General or the *Khalīfah* to get approval of their action. The *Amīr* could hold his post so long as he received the support of the two leading factions, the Arabs and the Syrians, or of the stronger party of the two. A slight provocation might bring about revolution. Such was the hold of the

Governor-General or the *Khalīfah* on Spain. During the short period of the dependent 'Imārat about twenty *amīrs* governed over Spain one after another, some more than once, three holding the post for five years or more and some of them were temporary Governors replacing generals.

'Abd al-'Azīz :— 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, the first governor called the *Amīr* of Spain, chose Seville as his seat of government. He was a good administrator and concluded a treaty with Theodomir the ruler of the Levante (East Spain). He made arrangements for irrigation which encouraged the cultivators and constructed forts in many places and posted military guards for the safety of travellers and merchants. This brought peace and prosperity to the country. Like Akbar, the Mughal Emperor of India, he encouraged intermarriages with the conquered people and himself married the widow of Roderick, Egilona (Umm 'Āṣim). He was persuaded by Egilona to wear a crown after the Visigothic fashion and to construct an entrance leading into his audience chamber so low that none could get in without bowing.[1] Sulaymān the *Khalīfah* of Damascus hated 'Abd al-'Azīz as he was the son of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, and on the plea that 'Abd al-'Azīz was likely to be converted to Christianity under the influence of his Christian wife, the *Khalīfah* had him assassinated in Rajab 97/March 716.

Ayyūb and al-Ḥurr :—After the murder of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the army elected Ayyūb bin Ḥabīb, a son of the sister of Mūsā, as their chief and governor but his election was not confirmed by the Governor-General of Ifrīqīyah. Within a few months he was replaced by al-Ḥurr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī (716-718 A.C.).

1. *Ta'rikh-i-Undalus* Vol. I, pp. 136-37.

Al-Ḥurr, however, proved himself incapable of running the administration of the young Muslim State smoothly and maintaining discipline in the army. In 98/718 his lieutenant Governor 'Alqamah was severely defeated at Covadonga by Pelayo who established a Christian estate[1] there. Al-Ḥurr was, therefore, replaced by al-Samḥ ibn Malik al-Khawlānī (719-721 A.C).

Samḥ b. Malik al-Khawlānī :— Samḥ was instructed by Khalīfah 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz to report to him regarding the circumstances under which the different parts of Spain were conquered. Samḥ came to Spain in Ramaḍān 100/April 718 and collected taxes according to the Islamic principle and sent one-fifth of tax collected to Damascus through one Jābir. But soon after-wards 'Umar II died in 101/719 and was succeeded by a weak Umayyad Khalīfah, Yazīd II. Samḥ, therefore, stopped sending revenue to Damascus and spent it on the public works in Spain itself.

In about 717 Samḥ transferred the seat of government from Seville to a more centrally situated place namely Cordova which was destined to play an important role for centuries in the history of the Muslim rule in Spain. He constructed the Jāmi' Masjid at Saragossa and rebuilt the bridge in Cordova over the Guadalquivir on the remains of an old Roman structure. He made a fresh survey of land and instituted a new system of taxation for which he took a census of the diverse nationalities and races of the country.

Battle of Toulouse :—Samḥ was not only a good administrator but also a great general. He crossed the Pyrenees

1. Its area was in the beginning 5 X 3 miles *Cf. Akhbar al-Undalus* (Scott's *History*, Urdu Translation), Vol. I, p. 345 ; Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, Philadelphia, 1904, I, pp. 350-1.

and seized Septimania, the country of seven cities--Narbonne, Agde, Bezier, Lodeve, Carcassonne, Nimes and Maguelone. Narbonne (Arbūnah), which had easy access from the sea, became a base of military operations for the Muslim force. He then marched on Ṭalūshah (Toulouse) the capital of Aquitaine and laid siege to it in May 721. Eudes the Duke of Aquitaine came with a large force to the relief of the garrison of the town. Though outnumbered by ten to one and attacked on two sides, Samḥ engaged the enemies at once with vigour characteristic of the 'Arab race. But heroic valour was of no avail against numbers. The battle was furious and Samḥ fell. His death caused alarm in the Muslim ranks and Samḥ's force withdrew from Provence under the command of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī.

'Anbasah :—After the death of Samḥ, 'Abd al-Raḥmān held the office of governor for a few months till the arrival of 'Anbasah bin Saḥīm al-Kalbī (721-25), appointed by Bishr bin Ṣafwān, the Governor-General of Ifrīqīyah. The new Governor resumed the expedition against France with courage and reconquered Carcassonne, Nimes and other places. The Muslim force made its way northwards up the valley of the Rhône and reached Autun.

'Anbasah entered into defensive and offensive alliance with the Christians of Carcassonne.[1] His tactful treatment of hostages and prisoners strengthened the Muslim position in southern France. He was killed by the rebel Basques while returning loaded with booty from Autun in September 725.

After 'Anbasah's death the governorship became a bone

1. *Cf.* Riyāsat 'Ali, *the Ta'rīkh-i-Undalus*, Vol. 1, p. 156.

of contention among the different 'Arab tribesmen newly settled in Spain and the following five years witnessed five governors succeeding one after another. During this period neither were fresh lands conquered nor was any improvement made in the administration of the country. During the time of Haytham b. 'Ubayd Kilābī (729-730) the conquest of lands beyond the Pyrenees was resumed and Lyon, Macon and other places were captured but these were soon lost due to tribal jealousy between the Arabs and the Berbers.

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī :— Haytham's successor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī (730-732) was a good administrator and a great military general. He was the accepted leader of both the rival South Arabian and North Arabian tribes known as Ḥimyar and Muḍar respectively. He reorganised the fiscal and judicial administration and made tours of the country in order to settle the disputes of the people with equity and justice. He also fortified the frontiers with a view to repeat the feats of Ṭāriq and Mūsā in the rest of Europe. Further he punished the rebel Berber chief of southern France named 'Uthmān b. Abū Nis'ah who was found to be in league with Eudes, the Duke of Aquitaine, as will be described later in detail. Al-Ghāfiqī explored another route to the west of the Pyrenees and crossed from Pamplona in the spring of 732 A. C. Entering France by the pass of Roncesvalles with about 100,000 soldiers,[1] which appears to be an exaggerated figure, he marched against Arles, situated on the bank of the Rhône which capitulated only after a fierce resistance. He captured Bordeaux and defeated Eudes on the Bordogne.

1. Riyāsat 'Alī, I, p. 153,

Burgundy[1] along with the towns of Lyon, Besancon and Sens also fell into his hands.

Battle of Tours or Poitiers :— 'Abd al-Raḥmān then marched towards northern France. Being helpless, Eudes (Eudo) sought the help of the Frankish King Charles, son of Pepin of Heristal, who responded to his call and marched southwards with a large number of troops. The Muslim spies failed to send intelligence of the alliance of Eudes and Charles to 'Abd al-Raḥmān who was taken by surprise. The Muslim army had been reduced in strength by this time and a large number of troops were posted at strategic positions, rivers and hills. The half-disciplined Berbers, in spite of strict orders for the contrary, engaged in atrocities and plunder Their greed for booty undermined their integrity and sense of duty. Over and above all these difficulties, inter-tribal jealousies again raised their heads in the Muslim camp. With such a disunited force it was not easy to stand against the troops of the Christians who had now combined. The two armies met on the plain between Tours and Poitiers about twenty kilometres (12½ miles) north-east of Poitiers on the bank of the Loire in Ramaḍān 114/Oct. 732. About a week was spent in skirmishes in which the advantage lay with the Muslims, and no party dared attack the other openly. At last general engagements took place for two days. The Franks were wavering when all on a sudden the Muslims breaking their lines ran to save their booty 'Abd al-Raḥmān tried to restore order but it was too late and he fell dead fighting in the evening of the tenth day. The death of their Military General created confusion in the Muslim ranks and furious

1. *Cf.*, *The Islamic Review*, London. June 1958, pp. 17-18

dissensions broke out among his lieutenants over the question of his successor. Finding no solution they escaped in the darkness of the night leaving the wounded in the field.

The Franks were too exhausted to pursue the retreating Muslim army. The entire Muslim camp with munitions of war fell into the hands of the Christians Charles butchered the wounded Muslims and received the title of *Martel.* He retraced his steps northwards. This battle of Tours was, according to certain modern writers, an event of the first magnitude in medieval history because as a result, they say, the penetration of Islam into Christian Europe was finally checked. It is true some of the retreating Muslim soldiers made way for Narbonne and no attempt was made again to invade France by this western route. Here, however, the same blunder, was committed as in the battle of Wādī Lakko that of bringing the whole force in the battlefield. Had Charles Martel been defeated the fate of the whole of Europe would have been sealed because there would have been no strong reserve force to check any possible advance of the Muslims. The defeat of the Muslims in this battle did not so much deter Muslim expansion in Europe as did the disunity, rivalry and the bickerings among the Muslim chiefs themselves.[1] Further the climate of central France was not congenial for the Muslims and the available manpower of the Muslims had already been stretched to the utmost of its capacity. After this no attempt was made again to invade France by the western route of Roncesvalles.

1. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1951, p. 501 & n3.

Civil Wars and the 'Arab Tribes :— This defeat was followed by a period of civil wars[1] among the Muslims in Spain till the establishment of an independent 'Imārat in 756 A.C. The chief contending parties were the Arabs, the Berbers the Syrians and the neo-Muslims. The first three were the conquerors and the *last* one the conquered. The Arabs had begun to lean to the political ideas of their ancestors based on tribal system. They looked down upon the Syrians and the Berbers and scorned the neo-Muslims.

Among the 'Arab tribes we find the Banī Adnān, Banī Hāshim, Banī Umayyah, Banī Makhzūm, Banī Fihr and others settling in Andalus because it offered better prospects of life. They brought with them to this new country their old tribal jealousies and rivalries. They formed themselves into their two old groups, the Muḍarites and Ḥimyarites or Yamanites. The latter in general believed in Shi'ite ideas and the former maintained Sunnī orthodoxy.

There was old jealousy between the Kalbī (Yamanī) and Qaysī (north Arabian tribes). After 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 719 A. C.) the Umayyad Khalīfahs did not try to remove this tribal jealousy. The result was that it spread into distant provinces also. The Khalīfah Yazīd bin 'Abd al-Malik appointed a Kalbī general named Bishr b. Safwān as Governor-General of Ifrīqīyah. The latter appointed as governor of Spain a Kalbī chief, 'Anbasah b. Saḥīm, in place of the Qaysite chief 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī, who was, however, appointed deputy-governor of Eastern Spain. Due to this tribal jealousy civil war broke out in Spain.

'Abd al-Malik :— 'Abd al-Malik b. Qaṭan, a Madinite

1. *Cf.* Pareja, Felix M, *Islamologia,* Tomo I, Madrid, 1952-1954, p. 163.

chief, was appointed governor of Spain after 'Abd al-Raḥmān was killed in the battle of Tours in October 732. He regained the lost prestige of the Muslim arms and defeated the Christians of Aragon and Navarre. Crossing the Pyrenees he captured Saint Remi and Avignon. But this victory, apart from the cruelties which he perpetrated on the people, renewed jealousies, traces of which already existed in the army and led to his deposition in November 734.

'Uqbah :— 'Uqbah b. Ḥajjāj (734-740 A.C.) was appointed governor in his place by 'Ubayd Allāh, the Governor-General of Ifrīqīyah. The new governor was just and kind. He was a great general and carried the Muslim arms beyond their former limits in France. He fortified strategic positions, conquered Piedmont, Saint Paul, Donzere, Valence and Burgundy and threatened the central part of France. Charles Martel invoked the assistance of Liudprand, King of the Lombards, and instigated the Basques to rise against the Muslims. Thus 'Uqbah was faced with an unexpected and unified resistance. Following the scorching earth policy the Franks converted a vast tract of the country to the south of the Loire into a desert as had been done in North Africa by the Berber Queen Kāhinah to check the Muslim advance.[1] Important cities like Bezier, Agde, Nimes and Maguelone were thus razed to the ground. Only Narbonne and a few other towns remained in Muslim possession. In 739 A.C. when a serious Berber insurrection broke out in Ifrīqīyah, 'Uqbah was recalled from Spain by 'Ubayd Allāh, the Governor-General of Ifrīqīyah. 'Uqbah died there in Ṣafar 123 A.H. (Jan. 741 A.C.). In the meantime 'Abd al-Malik was chosen by the soldiers as the governor of Spain.

1. *Cf.* Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, pp. 98-9.

The Berber Resentment :— The Berbers, whose original home had been in Ifrīqīyah, maintained close contact with their former homeland both culturally and politically. Any outbreak of Berber unrest in North Africa led the Berbers in Spain to rebel against the Amīr. The Berbers, who had entered Spain as conquerors, were not given due share in administration of the State. The 'Arab followers of Mūsā had appropriated the fertile plains of Spain in the South and the Berber followers of Ṭāriq could only receive the bleak Meseta i. e., the less fertile lands of La Mancha and Estremadura and the hilly tracts of the North to carry on pasturing. There they had to toil hard for their bare existence and fight constantly against the Christians for their life and honour. Besides, their booty was seized and their chiefs were imprisoned and humiliated by the 'Arabs. This caused a fierce revolt which, however, affected only a part of Spain and was soon suppressed. 'Uthmān b. Abū (Nis'ah) called Munusa or Monuza by the Christians, one of the four principal Berber chiefs who followed Ṭāriq to Spain, married the beautiful Lampegie, daughter of Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, and declared himself independent at Cerdagne near Puycerda on the other side of the Pyrenees. He had only a few Berber followers, so his rebellion was easily put down by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Governor of Spain, in 730 A.C. His wife along with other prisoners fell into the hands of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's lieutenant, who sent her to Damascus where she was married to a son of Khalīfah Hishām.

Many of the Berbers had adopted the Khārijite doctrine and were against both the Umayyads and the 'Alids. They, therefore, constituted a most disturbing element in the history of Ifrīqīyah and Spain. The bureaucracy, which

accomplished the revision of 'Umar II's system of taxation, was hated by the Berbers as was the despotism that was increasingly being felt. The Berbers were by nature a democratic people and their opposition took a religious turn. Their Khārijite doctrine justified them in rebelling against a bureaucratic form of government. Their insurrection, which had threatened peace for nine years (734-42 A.C.) in Ifrīqīyah from the western limit of Morocco to Qayrawān, now spread to Spain. This time the Berbers rose in open rebellion under an Imām in the northern cities except in Saragossa where the 'Arabs were in greater strength. They divided their whole force into three divisions—the first was detailed to besiege Toledo, the second to attack Cordova and the third to occupy Algeciras and Ceuta. Several expeditions sent against them by 'Abd al-Malik b. Qaṭan were repulsed.

The Syrians in Spain :— The Syrians came to Spain through Ifrīqīyah along with their leader Balj ibn Bishr al-Qushayrī. An army of 27,000 Syrians was sent under the command of Kulthūm by Khalīfah Hishām in the summer of the year 741 A. C. to quell the general revolt of the Berbers in Ifrīqīyah.[1] Due to tribal jealousy the 'Arabs were defeated at Bakdura on the bank of the Sebu and the Syrian soldiers, 7,000 in number, were separated from the main force under Balj ibn Bishr and took shelter at Ceuta. They resisted successfully five or six attacks from the Berbers. Later, when the Berbers cut off supplies to the town, the Syrians wanted to cross over into Spain. Remembering the days of al-Ḥarrah in the Ḥijāz, where the Madinites had been disastrously defeated and mercilessly

1. Ibn 'Idharī, *Bayān*, II. p. 9.

butchered by the Syrians, 'Abd al-Malik, Governor of Spain, at first opposed their entrance. But shortly afterwards when his own stability was threatened by the dangerous revolt of the Berbers, described above, 'Abd al-Malik invited the Syrians from Ceuta to Spain on certain conditions. Thus they were to hand over to him ten chiefs of each division as hostages and to return after quelling the Berber revolt to some safer parts of Ifrīqīyah, which would be free from Berber domination. The Syrians then crossed over into Spain but their arrival made the local situation more confused. Being reinforced by some Spanish 'Arabs they defeated the three divisions of the Berbers one after another near Medina Sidonia, Cordova and Toledo and amassed spoils in abundance.

War Between the Syrians and the Madīnites :— Troubles now arose with the Syrians over the question of quitting Spain. Going back on his promises, 'Abd al-Malik wanted to banish them to Ceuta which had fallen, meanwhile, into the hands of the Berbers, without giving any transport facilities. The Syrians, who had amassed much power and strength by that time, refused to comply with the order, easily deposed 'Abd al-Malik and proclaimed Balj ibn Bis͟hr, governor of Spain, on 20th September 741. The Syrian hostages were released and 'Abd al-Malik was brought out from his palace in Cordova and killed. A furious battle took place between the Syrians and the Madinites. The latter were led by Umayyah and Qaṭan, sons of 'Abd al-Malik and supported by the Lak͟hmite 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī. The Madinite force numbered 40,000 according to some and 100,000 according to others[1] while the Syrians

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 143.

could not muster more than 12,000. Narbonne was deserted by its commanders, who had come to join in the civil war on behalf of 'Abd al-Malik and his sons. The engagement took place in August 742. The Madinites suffered defeat and sustained heavy casualties, the number killed alone being 10,000. The Syrians lost only 1,000 men and reoccupied Cordova.[1] Balj, who was seriously wounded, died after a few days and a Syrian named Tha'labah b. Salāmah al-'Amili ('Ajilī) was proclaimed governor of Spain. His partiality for the Muḍarites antagonised the Yamanites who were joined by the neo-Muslims and Berbers. He attacked the Madinites and Berbers at Merida, defeated them and enslaved them. Their wives and children, 10,000 in number were also sold into slavery. They were put up for sale on a Friday in May 743 and in order to humiliate them they were sold to the lowest bidder. The civil war dragged on merrily and the whole administration was paralysed.

Abu'l Khaṭṭār :— By this time the people of Andalucia had become tired of anarchy and civil war. At their request Ḥusām b. Ḍirār the Kalbite, surnamed Abū'l Khaṭṭār (743-745), became the governor of Spain. He released the 'Arab captives, 10,000 in number, including Umayyah and Qaṭan. The disturbing elements (the Syrians) were removed from the capital. A dozen of the most turbulent chieftains including Tha'labah were exiled to Ifrīqīyah and other Syrians were given public lands in fief with a right to receive the government's share of produce without the title to the lands.[2] The Madinites gave up politics and ceased to

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 144.

2. The regulars (*junds*) of Palestine settled in the district of Sidonia and Algeciras; those of Jordan, in the district of Regio; those of Damas-

exert any further influence in the history of Spain. Thus Abū'l Khaṭṭār restored order in Spain though temporarily by dispersing the contending parties to different parts of the country. But his favouritism towards one party, the Yamanites who were Shi'ahs, antagonised the other, the Muḍarites who were Sunnis, and a fresh insurrection broke out with greater violence than ever.

War Between the Syrians (Sunnis) and the Yamanites (Shi'ahs) :—As the Spanish Governors like the Umayyad Caliphs were not autocrat they showed regard to the opinions of the leading Arabs. As a result when the Caliphate became weak the influential chiefs started contending for having more say in the government. Because of this the old tribal rivalry revived. Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim whose grandfather Shimr had murdered Imām Ḥusayn, was a Qaysite chief. He nursed a personal grudge against Abū'l Khaṭṭār and instigated the two Yamanite tribes, the Judhamites and Lakhmites, to rise against the Governor. Their combined forces led by Tha'labah b. Salāmah, the Judhamite chief, defeated the royal focre under the Governor on the bank of the Guadalete. Abū'l Khaṭṭār fell a captive. But he was freed by the Kalbites under the leadership of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Nu'aym. Abū'l Khaṭṭār again tried to rally his men together but failed. The Muḍarites then elected Tha'labah b. Salāmah as the governor of Spain. As a puppet in the hands of Ṣumayl he governed for sixteen months. After his death Ṣumayl did not occupy the office of the governor but conferred it on Yūsuf bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān

cus, in the district of Elvira; those of Qinnisrin, in the district of Jaen; those of Emessa, in Niebla and Seville; and those of Egypt, in Beja and Murcia. *Cf.* Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, II, pp. 33-4/48-9.

al-Fihrī,[1] a descendant of 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi', the founder of al-Qayrawān, in 747 A. C. Since these civil wars were fought for tribal supremacy and, therefore, Ṣumayl sacrificed his personal interest. Yūsuf's appointment as the governor of Spain was confirmed by his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ḥabīb, the Governor-General of Ifrīqīyah.

Battle of Secunda :—'Amr son of Tha'labah b. Salāmah by a Negroe, dissatisfied with the action of Ṣumayl, joined Abū'l Khaṭṭār and Yaḥyā bin Ḥurayth al-Judhāmī. As the latter's tribe was more numerous than Abū'l Khaṭṭār's, Ibn Ḥurayth was elected chief of the combined force. A furious battle took place between the two parties on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. The two contending parties, the Muḍarites and the Yamanites, finally came to a settlement on the condition that every alternate year each would rule over the country.[2] For the first year Yūsuf was elected as the ruler of the country in 747. After the expiry of one year Ṣumayl was not willing to replace Yūsuf by a representative of the Yamanites. Once again a bloody battle took place between the two parties on the left bank of the Guadalquivir near Shaqundah (Secunda) opposite to Cordova. Yūsuf and Ṣumayl came out victorious and their enemies were routed. Abū'l Khaṭṭār and Ibn Ḥurayth were captured and killed.

War Between the Syrians and Qurayshites :—To get rid of Ṣumayl's control in 750 A. C. Yūsuf appointed him governor of Saragossa, a city inhabited mostly by the Yamanites. The two Qurayshite chiefs, 'Āmir 'Abdarī of Cordova

1. He was formerly deputy governor of Barcelona and had proved his generalship at Narbonne.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. V, pp. 286-7; *Akhbār Majmu'ah*, pp. 57 sq.

and Ḥubāb Zahrī of Saragossa, joined hands in support of the 'Abbāsids against Yūsuf and Ṣumayl. After collecting a large number of the Yamanites and the Berbers, they defeated the force sent by Ṣumayl and laid siege to Saragossa in 753/4 A. C. Yūsuf was unable to come to Ṣumayl's help. 'Ubayd ('Abd Allāh bin 'Alī)[1] a Kalbite chief, however, collected three hundred and sixty horsemen and marched along with Ibn Shihāb (Sulaymān)[2], chief of the Banī Ka'b, to help Ṣumayl. On the way he was joined by four hundred Ma'adites (Muḍarites). Hearing of the arrival of the new force 'Āmir and Ḥubāb raised the siege and dispersed in the beginning of the year 755 A.C.[3]

Neo-Muslims :—The fourth and last group that was involved in the civil war was that of the neo-Muslims forming the majority of the population and constituting the whole of the productive classes : farmers and labourers in the countryside and craftsmen and businessmen in the town. The conquerors did not usually encourage the conversion of the Spanish people because that meant loss to treasury. The Neo-Muslims hated both Arabs and the Berbers, the former for their pride, the latter for their harshness. The Muslim converts in the chief towns of the country belonged to rich and noble families. Upto 750 a non-'Arab used to become a client (*mawla*) of an 'Arab tribe in order to receive pension. The status of a client was an inferior one in a Muslim State and carried a smaller stipend than that of the Arabs. This arrangement led discontent among the non-'Arab Muslims, particularly Spanish Muslims.

1. Riyāsat 'Alī., *The Ta'rīkh-i-Undalus*, Vol, I, p. 211.
2. *Ibid*, Vol I, p. 211.
3. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 158-160,

They were hated by orthodox Christains and called renegades. Marriages between native Muslims and Christians were common. Children born of neo-Muslims were known as Muwallad. Like the Persians they were socially hated and despised by the common 'Arabs and Berbers who often called them sons of slaves. They were generally not given lucrative posts in the government. As a result, they were dissatisfied with the rule of the 'Arabs and rose in revolt against them from time to time. They clamoured for more autonomy. To weaken the strength of the 'Arabs they used to join one party or the other. Here, then, was another strong element of dissension in Spain.

To unite these different groups of the population and establish peace all over the country presented a difficult problem indeed. The Umayyad Khalifāh of Damascus did not succeed in this task. During the period of anarchy (732-755 A. C.) as many as fifteen governors succeeded one after another in rapid succession in Spain and hence they had hardly any time to effect any striking improvement in the condition of the country. Due to internal dissension and pressure from Alfonso I of Asturias (739-757) the Muslims withdrew from nearly a quarter of the peninsula.

Expulsion of the Muslims from France :—Whilst Yūsuf was engaged in dealing with the internal enemies, Pepin the Short, son and successor of Charles Martel, invaded the Muslim zone in France in 752 A. C. The Franks devastated the Muslim cities of Agde, Beziers, Lodeve and several others and put to the sword all Muslims, regardless of sex and age, and set fire to their mosques, schools and hospitals. Narbonne resisted for years together till it was captured by the Franks with the aid of the Christians of the town in 759 A. C.

During the troublous period the Muslims withdrew also from the conquered mountainous parts of northern Spain where the Christians had fortified themselves strongly and from where they later disturbed the peace of Muslim Spain. The kingdom of the Asturias was established by Pelayo when the Muslims had been engaged in civil war in Spain and the stability of the Muslims in France had been threatened by Charles Martel and his successors.

Causes of their Expulsion :– (a) 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī was not succeeded by any capable governor who could suppress the tribal jealousies for which the 'Arabs and Berbers had been notorious.

(b) The weakness of the central authority of the Umayyad Khilāfat and also that of the viceroyalty of Ifrīqīyah led to frequent changes of governors. Further, the governor was not directly responsible to the Khalīfah and hence he had but little respect for him.

(c) The lack of unity and discipline among the 'Arabs, Berbers, Syrians and neo-Muslims gave rise to discontent, jealousies and civil wars. Perpetually engaged in these, they had no time to think of expanding the kingdom and were compelled to neglect the administration of the country.

(d) The lukewarm loyalty of the generals posted in southern France, for example the Commander of Narbonne, who deserted their posts to participate in civil wars of Spain.

(e) Difficult ranges of mountains like the Pyrenees separated France from Spain and served as the natural boundary-line between the two countries with a few passes which remained snowbound for most part of the year The high plateau (Meseta) was a great hinderance to easy movement of the army and to inland communications. Above all the climate of central France was not congenial for the

Syrians and Berbers accustomed to a Mediterranean climate. So it helped the tide of Muslim expansion in ebbing about 750.

(f) Civil wars hampered the develop ment of the 'Arab navy and halted the conquest of new lands in France; consequently the Muslim military base at Narbonne in south-eastern France could not become as strong as the ones at Baṣrah and Kūfah in the East.

(g) Cordova and Qayrawān, the only places from where the soldiers in France could receive reinforcements, were much too far away from the theatre of war. If the Muslim army faced defeat in France, it had no hope of receiving reinforcements and the Muslim soldiers could withdraw only when their enemies permitted them to do so; otherwise they were butchered in large numbers. Due partly to these difficulties and partly to their mutual jealousies and the lack of discipline, the Muslims lost their new possessions in France several times. They could hold on only at Narbonne[1] which also fell into the hands of the Franks shortly after the arrival of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I in Spain.

1. Towards the end of the 9th century twenty Spaniah Muslim sailors sailed for the Provencal coast but overtaken by a storm were driven into the Gulf of St. Tropes They landed and found certain Muslims already living in the country. They built castles and fortresses the most important being Fraxinetum near Alps which became the centre of Muslim colonies in central Europe extending up to northern Italy and Switzerland the borders of Germany. *Cf.* Sherwani Haroon Khan, *Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy and Switzerland* Lahose 1964, pp. 129-179.

CHAPTER III

THE INDEPENDENT 'IMARĀT (756-929 *A. C.*)

'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN 1 (756-788)

For one hundred years the greater part of the Muslim empire was under the authority of a Khalīfah. At first his authority was real and powerful. The Khalīfah appointed all the provincial governors from Spain to Sindh, and removed any one of them at his pleasure. But the empire was too large to hold together and before the consolidation of power by the 'Abbāsids Spain shook off the authority of the Khalīfah under a prince of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus.

Persecution of the Umayyads in Syria :—With the defeat of Marwān II on the bank of the Zāb at the hands of the 'Abbāsids, the Umayyad rule came to an end the 'Abbāsid dynasty succeeded to the Khilāfat in March 750. The 'Abbāsid adopted a very cruel policy towards the Umayyads. Many members of the Umayyad dynasty were ruthlessly murdered. At Palestine and Baṣrah not a single Umayyad who could be traced, was spared. Abān bin Mu'āwiyah bin Hishām was deprived of a hand and a foot and paraded in the towns and villages of Syria. Hishām's grandson 'Abdah was slain. The buried corpses of the Umayyad Khalīfahs except those of Mu'āwiyah I and 'Umar II were exhumed and their graves desecrated. Some Umayyads, however, escaped and sought refuge among the Badāwī tribes one of them being 'Abd al-Raḥmān (born in 113/731), the son of Mu'āwiyah and the grandson of Khalīfah Hishām.

'Abd al-Raḥmān's Wandering :—'Abd al-Raḥmān escaped to Rāh[1] near the Euphrates, where he was joined by the surviving members of his family including his two sisters, his younger brother, a youth of thirteen years, and his son Sulaymān then four years of age. There he began to prepare for the long journey to Africa where some Umayyad princes, namely Jazi bin 'Abd al-'Azīz bin Marwān, 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Umar bin Marwān, 'Āṣī bin Walīd, Mūsā bin Walīd and Ḥabīb bin 'Abd al-Malik had already taken refuge. But the 'Abbāsid pursuit compelled him to remain concealed in the wood with his brother. Being joined by his freedman Badr, he escaped from his hiding place, reached the banks of the Euphrates and took shelter in a house. He tried through his host to procure horses and provisions. On receiving information from a slave of his host that the 'Abbāsid troops had surrounded him and his brother in the garden, they escaped and plunged into the river. However, his brother who was not a good swimmer was compelled to return from midstream only to be killed by the enemy waiting on the bank of the river.

'Abd al-Raḥmān crossed the river and reached Palestine safely where he was rejoined by Badr and also Abū'l Shujā' Sālim, a freedman of his sister Umm Aṣbagh. The three then started for Ifrīqīyah. The authority of the 'Abbasids had not been recognised in Ifrīqīyah and Spain which were then being ruled by Fihrite governors, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri and his son Yūsuf al-Fihri respectively. Inspired by the recollection of the prediction of his future greatness made by his uncle Maslamah bin 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd al-Raḥmān wanted to be a ruler. He was ambitious,

1. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Khilāfat-i-Muwaḥḥidīn* (Urdu Translation), p. 13

brave and courageous. He first tried his fortune in Ifrīqīyah, where Ibn Ḥabīb had declared himself independent. Ibn Ḥabīb, however, hated the Umayyad refugees and killed several of them, because he had learnt from a Jewish soothsayer that his son's kingdom would be occupied by a prince of the Umayyad dynasty who would have two curls on his forehead.[1] 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself narrowly escaped assassination at his hands and sought refuge successively at Barqah, in the court of a petty dynasty, the Rustamids of Tāhirat, and among the Miknāsah Berbers. Being aware of his intrigues, the Miknāsah forced him turn to his last resort in Ifrīqīyah. He came to his maternal uncles who belonged to the Berber tribe of Nafzah (Nafzadah) in Ceuta.

Having wandered about for five long years with his freedman, he now tried to strengthen his claim to the throne of Ifrīqīyah and Spain. At Ceuta he received the support of the Berbers. But he had no chance to realize his ambition in Ifrīqīyah. Therefore, he tried to settle in Spain where his prospects, as foretold by his sister's slave, Sālim, seemed to be bright. To study the situation 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent his faithful freedman and companion in adversity, Badr, to the Umayyad clients of the Damascus and Qinnisrin divisions, about 500 of whom had settled in Elvira, Jaen, and other districts in South Spain.

Condition of Spain Favourable for 'Abd al-Raḥmān :— The political condition of Spain at that time appeared to be most favourable for the fulfilment of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's ambition. Spain was torn by party jealousies and tribal feuds. Besides the Christians, the Jews and the Berbers, the Muḍarites and Yamanites formed the most important

1. *Cf.* Edwyn Hole, *Andalus*, London, 1958, pp. 154-155.

'Arab parties in Spain. The latter two parties, as stated earlier, after years of fighting, had come to a settlement that every alternate year one of their candidates would be elected to rule the land. Under this agreement Yūsuf al-Fihrī the representative of the Muḍarite was given the first chance to rule. He, however, refused to relinquish office in favour of the Yamanite candidate when the latter's turn came and continued to rule as a despot for ten years. He paid only lip-homage to the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah al-Saffāḥ. Yūsuf's staunchest supporter was Ṣumayl, the chief of the Qaysite, a branch of the Muḍarite. Yūsuf favoured the Qaysites and the Yamanites suffered much under him. One of them Aḥmad bin 'Amar, Wālī of Seville, declared himself independent and conspired against Yūsuf. The entire country was involved in civil war, and confusion and anarchy prevailed. The Asturians, encouraged by the outbreak of the war and the commencement of unrest throuout the country, began to push their conquests farther to the South.

'Abd al-Raḥmān invited : – Such was the political condition of the country when Badr landed in Spain and handed over a letter from 'Abd al-Raḥmān to 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Uthmān and 'Abd Allāh b. Khālid, chief of the Damascus division, settled in Elvira. These chiefs won over not only several Umayyad clients but also the Yamanites to their side by inciting them to take vengeance on the Muḍarites but failed to win over Ṣumayl, Yūsuf's right hand man, to their side. Assured of Yamanite assistance and learning that Yūsuf and Ṣumayl were engaged in the North, the Syrian freedmen of the Umayyads sent Abū Ghālib Tammām along with Badr to fetch Prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān giving them the

money which they had received from Yūsuf to give him military assistance. 'Abd al-Raḥmān landed at the port of Almuñecar in Rabī' al-Ākhir 138, September 755,[1] joined by 'Ubayd Allāh and Ibn Khālid, the great chiefs of Spain, he marched to the castle of Torrox situated between Iznajar and Loja[2] on the bank of the Genil. There he was cordially welcomed and necessary preparations were made for the inevitable war and intending people came in groups and joined him. Among the famous chiefs who joined him at Torrox were Abū'l Ḥajjāj Yūsuf bin Bakht of Torrox, Abū 'Abdah Ḥassān bin Mālik Kalbī of Seville and Abū'l Ṣabbāḥ bin Yaḥya Yaḥṣubī and 'Alqamah b. Ghiyāth Lakhmī.

While these events were taking place in the south, Yūsuf was engaged in subduing the rebellions headed by Ḥubāb al-Zuhrī and 'Āmir al-'Abdarī[3] in Thaghar (Aragon). His expedition against the rebel Berbers of Saragossa had been successful. But he broke his promise and killed many Yamanī and Qurayshite chiefs including 'Āmir, his sons Wahb and Ḥubāb and punished Ibn Shihāb at the instigation of Ṣumayl. This caused distrust among the soldiers and allienated many of his staunch supporters who went over to the side of Prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Yūsuf had been informed by now of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's landing by his wife Umm 'Uthmān, who was at Cordova. He hastened to his capital. But his decision to attack the Prince met no favour with his troops. This gave the Umayyad Prince time to recruit and organise his forces. Had the army of Yūsuf given battle to 'Abd al-Raḥmān at Torrox the history of the

1. *Cf* Pareja, Felix M. '*Islamologia*, p. 165.
2. Dozy. p. 176 and n 3; not the modern Torrox.
3. *Al-Maqqari*, Vol. II, p. 66.

country might well have been vastly different. Finding himself deserted, Yūsuf tried to effect a reconciliation with the Prince by sending his secretary, Khālid ibn Zayd, and two more envoys, 'Ubayd bin 'Alī and 'Īsā bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān, with an elegant letter[1] drafted by Khālid and rich gifts including his daughter, but in vain.[2] No other course was then left open except resort to arms. The ranks of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's army had been swelled by the adhesion of the deserters from Yūsuf's army including the Qaysite chiefs, Jābir, son of Ibn Shihāb[3] whom Ṣumayl had caused to be killed by sending him to the Basques and Ḥusayn who had narrowly escaped sharing the fate of his companion Ibn Shihāb; and also by the recent arrival of a considerable number of African cavalry. Learning that Yūsuf had marched from the capital to intercept him 'Abd al-Raḥmān proceeded from Torrox towards Cordova to capture it during his absence.

He becomes Amīr :— 'Abd al-Raḥmān was received with enthusiasm at Archidona and Sidonia where the Syrians of the Jordan and Palestine divisions dwelt respectively. On the 1st Shawwāl 138/8th March 756 he entered Archidona, the capital of Regio, where he was declard Amīr, khuṭbah was read in his name and all present, including 'Īsā bin Masāwar, the governor of Rayyuh (Regio), and Jidār bin 'Umar, a Qaysite chief, took the oath of allegiance. Rein-

1. One of the duties of the diplomat was to correspond in the most refined manner and he was required to be proficient in Spanish and Hebrew besides in Arabic. He was also required to have sufficient knowledge of the arts and science,

2. *Cf.* Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 181-4, 194.

3. Ibid., p. 185; Riyāsat 'Alī, I, p. 211,

forced by the Syrian junds of Regio and Sidonia, the Berbers of the Ronda district and the Yamanites, 'Abd al-Raḥmān reached Seville, inhabited mainly by the 'Arabs of Emesa (Ḥims). Ghiyāth bin 'Alqamah al-Lakhmī and Ibrāhīm bin Shajrah, the governors of Sidonia and Ronda respectively, joined 'Abd al-Raḥmān and thus without shedding a drop of blood the Prince became the king of the southern districts of Spain by the middle of March 756.

The Battle of Muṣarāh :— After collecting a formidable force in the provinces of Toledo and Murcia, Yūsuf marched from Cordova towards Seville, along the right bank of the Guadalquivir, in order to check the advance of the Prince, but the Prince had already left the place and had marched to Cordova along the left bank of the same river. 'Abd al-Raḥmān threatened to sack Cordova which had been famine-stricken for the last six years. His army, like the forces of Yūsuf, suffered great privation owing to the shortage of food. The news of the siege of Cordova perturbed Yūsuf and he hastened with a large army from Seville to the capital. 'Abd al-Raḥmān left some men behind to continue the siege of Cordova and himself advanced with 10,000 men to meet his opponent at Muṣārah,[1] east of Cordova, with the river Guadalquivir between them. There was a ford at Tocina but the water was too high to cross. Feigning to accept the former peace proposals of Yūsuf, 'Abd al-Raḥmān succeeded in crossing the river at Muṣārah and attacked Yūsuf's army on Friday 9th Dhu'l ḥijjah

1. It is called Baghida by Ibn Quṭaybah (al-Maqqarī, II, p. 69) and *Almazara* in Spanish.

138/14th May 756. A bloody battle followed. The army under Yūsuf was routed by severe charge of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's cavalry and met with heavy losses. In the confusion that followed the infantry of Yūsuf was trampled down by his own cavalry. Such was the battle of Muṣārah which decided the destiny of Spain for many years to come. Yūsuf fled to Toledo and Ṣumayl took refuge in Jaen.[1] Yūsuf's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān fell captive along with others to 'Abd al-Raḥmān I. Cordova was captured the following day and a general amnesty was granted to all who submitted. The ḥaram of the defeated governor was given protection. Yūsuf's daughter presented 'Abd al-Raḥmān with a young slave girl named Ḥulal or Hora of whom later Hishām was born. 'Abd al-Raḥmān I could reasonably now call himself the lawful ruler of Spain. The foundation of the Umayyad dynasty was thus laid in the West only six years after its fall in the East.

Rebellions of Yūsuf and Sumayl:—Now before 'Abd al-Raḥmān lay a gigantic task, the Christian nobility attempting an insurrection, the 'Arab nobles planning to divide the country into semi-oligarchical states and the people groaning under the pressure of oppressions. Though master of a State, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's position was not yet secure. Yūsuf joined Ṣumayl at Jaen, collected his scattered forces and began to create disturbance in the neighbourhood of Elvira. 'Abd al-Raḥmān appointed his chief supporter Abū 'Uthmān as governor of Cordova and Umayyah bin Zayyād, who had formerly been

1. Yūsuf escaped to Shudhar (Xodor) in the district of Jaen and Ṣumayl to Meṭida (al-Maqqari, p. 72).

secretary to Yūsuf, as his own secretary. He then marched to punish the enemy. Yūsuf in the meantime had captured Cordova. Abū 'Uthmān shut himself up in the tower of the Grand Mosque. On the approach of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Yūsuf and Ṣumayl, however, submitted thinking that further resistance would be futile. This happened in Ṣafar 139H./July 756 A. D. Abū Zayd 'Abd Raḥmān and Abū'l Aswad Muḥammad were kept as hostages, and their fathers, Yūsuf and Ṣumayl, were left in possession of their property undisturbed. But the treaty which was concluded between Yūsuf and Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān did not last more than two years. Misunderstanding arose between the two and Yūsuf fled to Merida where he was joined by 20,000 men.[1] Ṣumayl along with Yūsuf's two sons was put into prison. A number of military engagements took place. The final battle was fought in the field of Loxa in 141/758. Yūsuf was defeated by 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān governor of Seville. Many of his followers were killed and Yūsuf himself was seriously wounded but escaped. The following year he was killed in a village near Toledo by his old enemy, 'Abd Allāh bin 'Amr al-Anṣārī. Ṣumayl was put into prison and later poisond to death. Abū Zayd was killed, and Abū'l Aswad escaped disguising himself as a blind man.

A contingent of royal troops was sent under Ṣulaymān in order to help the besieged soldiers at Narbonne but it was cut to pieces in the mountain gorges in 759. The Christians of Narbonne opened the gates of the city to Pepin's army. The city fell and the Muslims were expelled.[2]

1. Ibn Athir, V, p. 381, quoted by Riyāsat 'Alī, Vol. I, P. 200.
2. *Cf*, H. K. Sherwani, *Muslim colonies*, pp. 81-82.

Rebellion of the Yamanites in the South :-- Yūsuf was undoubtedly defeated and killed but 'Abd al-Raḥmān's troubles were not yet over. He had now to face other hostile chiefs. The Yamanites and the Berbers did not like his paternal rule and consequently there was a series of rebellions. After firmly establishing his authority in and around Cordova, the Amīr took steps to punish the rebels. In 760 A. C. Arzaq bin Nu'mān Ghassāni rebelled at Seville. The town was besieged and the citizens were compelled to hand over the rebel chief. The Yamanite chief Abū Ṣabbāḥ, governor of Seville, who had plotted against 'Abd al-Raḥmān after the battle of Muṣārah, was deposed and killed in 766 A.C. This antagonised the other Yamanite chiefs. The aggrieved kinsmen of Abū Ṣabbāḥ, namely 'Abd al-Ghaffār bin Ḥamīd, 'Amr bin Tāllūt, Abū Kulthūm bin Yaḥṣūb and Ḥayāt bin Mulāmis,[1] raised the standard of rebellion and killed many Muḍarites. The Amīr hastened from northern frontier to Cordova and marched towards the south to quell the rebellion and met the Yamanites in 774 A.C. on the bank of the Maysar, known as Bembezar, in the province of Cordova. On being persuaded by the Berber clients of the Amīr, a large number of the Berbers, who had joined the rebels, deserted them. The Yamanites were defeated, 20,000 of them were killed and their power was crushed. Maṭarī, the rebel Yamanite chief of Niebla, was also defeated and killed.

Rebellion at Toledo :—In 761 A. C. Hishām bin 'Urwah[2], the former governor of Toledo, rebelled. The town was besieged and the rebel leader was compelled to surrender and send his

1. Riyāsat 'Ali, 1, 288 ; Ḥāyāt b. Mulabis ; E. G. Gomez, *Espana Musalmana* (*Historia* de *Espana*), Vol. IV, p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 273 ; ibid,, pp. 71-2.

son as hostage. But he rebelled again and compelled the Amīr to raise the siege and return. Four years later in 764 A. C. Toledo was reduced to submission and the rebel leaders were brought to Cordova and hanged.

'Abbasid flag in Spain.—'Alā' bin Mughīth Yaḥṣūbī, Wāli of Qayrawān, was ordered by Manṣūr, the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah, to subjugate Andalucia. 'Alā' bin Mughīth came to the province of Beja in 146/763 and aided by the Yamanis hoisted the black flag of the 'Abbāsids. He was joined by a large number of the Egyptians who had settled there, and chiefs like Wāsiṭ bin Mughīth and Umayyah bin Qaṭan. 'Alā' then marched on to Seville where he obtained the support of the Yamanites. The Amīr marched towards Seville to teach a lesson to 'Alā' who, thereupon, retreated towards Carmona. Badr checked Ghiyāth bin 'Alqamah al-Lakhmī of Sidonia from joining the 'Abbāsid representative and hastened to Carmona, where he was jonined by the Amīr. 'Alā' laid siege to Carmona. The town being well fortified was not easy to be reduced. The siege lasted for two months. In the meantime many of the followers of 'Alā' began to suffer from the scarcity of food and desert him. One night the Amīr made a surprise attack with 700 men. A furious battle took place in which the soldiers of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I threw the cavalry of 'Alā's into confusion. The latter was killed with 7,000 of his Berber followers and others broke their rank and fled. This rising, which threatened the very existence of the new dynasty, was thus quelled and 'Alā's head, along with the investiture he had received from the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah, was sent through a merchant to Qayrawān. The 'Abbasid Caliph Manṣūr and the Frankish Emperor Pepin entered into friendly relations and embassies were exchanged between the two in between 765 and 768 A. D.

Rebellion of the Berbers :— 'Abd al- Raḥmān then turned to crush the power of the Berbers, whose rebellion lasted for ten years in Shantabriyah (present Castro de Santaver) on the Guadiana. Their leader was 'Abd Allāh or Sufyān bin 'Abd al-Wāhid known as Shaqna,[1] a schoolmaster of the Minknāsah Berber tribe, who claimed himself a Fāṭimid and descendant of the Prophet. He declared his independence at Shantabriyah in 151/768 and gave trouble to 'Abd al-Raḥmān for nine years. He hid himself in the hills and forests whenever he heard that the royal troops were approaching. But ultimately he was assassinated by two of his own men in 777 A. C.

Coalition of 'Arab Chi-fs and Charlemagne :— A year after the fall of Narbonne (759), the Governor of Barcelona Sulaymān sought the help of Pepin in order to declare himself independent of Cordovan suzereignty but he did not come. Towards the latter part of his reign 'Abd al-Raḥmān I had to face a formidable coalition formed by the 'Arab chiefs of eastern Spain – Abu'l Aswad and 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Ḥabīb, Yūsuf's son and son-in-law respectively, and Sulaymān bin Yaqzān al-'Arabī, the Kalbite Governor of Barcelona. They wanted to drive 'Abd al-Raḥmān out of Spain. It was the policy of the Christian rulers and chiefs of Northern Spain, who received support from Charlemagne, to favour the attempts of the rebel 'Arab governors of the north. But there was no unity among the 'Arab chiefs. The three confederates invited Charlemagne, the king of France, to invade Spain. The plan was that when Charlemagne whould cross the Pyrenees al-'Arabī would support him in the

1. Shakya 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad *Cf.* Dozy, p. 202.

north of the Ebro, where Charlemagne's sovereignty would be recognised, and Ibn Ḥabīb along with the Berbers would help him in Murcia by raising the standard of the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah. Thereupon Charlemagne started from Paderborn, crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Spain in 777 A. C. But owing to internal discord their coalition failed. The invader alone devastated a number of provinces in the north. In 162/778 at Saragossa Charlemagne suffered a disastrous repulse at the hands of Ḥusayn bin Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī. Wittekind, the leader of the Saxons, rebelled in France and Charlemagne had to return to France without achieving anything. At the time of retreat he took as captive Sulaymān bin Yaqẓān b. al-'Arabī, whom he suspected of treachery. Maṭrūḥ and 'Abthūn ('Ayshūn) attacked the retreating force of the Franks and secured the release of their father. The rearguard of Charlemagne was attacked and annihilated by the Basques in the defiles of Roncesvaux (Roncesvalles) as it was passing through the Pyrenees. Thus the object of the coalition *viz*., to overthrow the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān was foiled. The latter now laid siege to Saragossa. Sulaymān having been killed by Ḥusayn, the latter had to face the royal force alone. The fortress of Saragossa was captured by the royal force in 164/780. Next 'Abd al-Raḥmān turned his attention towards Abu'l Aswad who had built a stronghold on a hill in the north where several rebels had joined him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent his soldiers to capture him. The rebels fled to the hills of Catalonia and the royal force sustained heavy losses before they could be subdued. Abu'l Aswad was, however, defeated on the bank of the Guadalimar in 778 A. C. with a loss of 4,000 men in the battle. He took

refuge in a forest and then died in 786 A. C., poor and unknown, in a village near Toledo.

Since then the policy of the Muslim governors and Christian Princes of Northern parts of Spain had been one of seeking the help of the king of France whenever they were hard pressd by the Amīr of Cordova and of turning to the arms of the Umayyads whenever the Franks became too exacting.

'Abd al-Raḥmān's death :— 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who wore white dress of his family, established a dynasty which lasted for a number of generations. He died at the age of 59 years in 173/788 and was buried in the Palace of Cordova.

Achievements and Character :- From the above account it is clear that throughout his reign of about 32 years 'Abd al-Raḥmān I saw his authority challenged, at times by the Fihrites, at times by the Yamanites, and at times by the Berbers. Fortunately for the Amīr, the 'Arab chiefs were incapable of uniting ; they took up arms either to avenge some personal wrong or out of mere grudge. The remarkable way in which 'Abd al-Raḥmān was able to establish a kingdom and win over the people to his side, therefore, deservesh the admiration of all.

He was kind to the submissive but ruthless to those who stood in his way. Those who plotted against his life were disgraced and killed. He imprisoned even Badr, is faithful servant, when the latter pestered him with baseless complaints and failed to pay him due respect. Later Badr was banished to a frontier town.

'Abd al-Raḥmān I possessed the attributes of a wise and enlightened sovereign. Of his wit and eloquence several

testimonies have come down to us. 'Abd al-Raḥmān I had brought with him the concept of imperialism from the East and cherished the dream of creating a new Western Empire. In order to accomplish his idea of an absolute monarchy, the Amīr fought against inter-tribal hatred, 'Arab pride and Berber democracy. The internal and external troubles kept him engaged incessantly in wars and prevented him largely from emerging as a great renovator and builder as he desired to be. He did not discuss his policies with any one and fritter away his time in leisurely pursuits. Relying on his intelligence he himself looked after the minute details of the administration. It was he who established a military despotism which his successors inherited. He curtailed the power of the 'Arab chiefs, established absolute rule, and maintained it with the help of an army about 200,000 mercenaries, recruited chiefly from the Berbers and freedmen.[1]

Among his commander-in-chiefs mention may be made of Badr, Tammām bin 'Alqamah, Ḥabīb bin 'Abd al-Malik al-Qarshī and 'Āṣim bin Muslim Thaqafī. But on many occasions the Amīr led the troops in person. On account of the rapidity with which he came and subjected Spain to his rule he was called the Falcon of the Quraysh by the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah Manṣūr. In 773 A. C. he discontinued the *khuṭbah* (sermon) in the name of Manṣūr and himself assumed the title of *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. As the holy cities of Makkah, Madīnah and Jerusalem were in the possession of the 'Abbasids who commanded psychological obedience even from those Muslims, who were not directly under their rule, and as they held the main body of the Muslim empire the Umayyad Amīr did not adopt the title of khalīfah and

1. *Cf.* Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, pp. 34, 35, 36

remained contented by calling himself Amīr. His policy was followed by his immediate successors.

The Amīr divided his kingdom into six provinces, each under a military governor. The provincial departments of 'Ummāl (revenue collector), police and the judges had direct relations with the centre. The Amīr had an advisory council of wise men who later became known as *wazirs* and two secretaries one dealing with correspondence and the other with finance. Among the responsible office-bearers at the centre were the Ḥājib (chamberlain or prime-minister), Kātib (secretary), Qāḍī al-Jama' (chief justice), Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah (head of the police) and Qā'id (the commander-in-chief). The Kātib of his court was the famous Umayyah bin Zayyād a client of Mu'āwiyah b. Marwān who had served as chief secretary to Yūsuf al-Fihrī. He took part in the deliberations of the council and was much esteemed for his experience and ability and consulted by the Amīr on all important matters. Yaḥyā b. Yazīd al-Yaḥṣūbī was confirmed in the post of Qāḍī al-Jama' and later Sa'īd b. Bashīr was appointed as the Chief Judge of Cordova. The secretariate was housed in the Alcarzar near the Bāb al-Sudda leading to the rasif a paved footpath constructed later on the river bank of the Guadat quivir leading to the great Cordova Bridge.

The Amīr went on frequent tours throughout his kingdom inorder to acquire first hand information regarding the conduct of his officers and the needs of his subjects. He visited the sick and mixed with the people of diverse races and religions. He was a great judge to whom all his subjects had free access and he was always ready to listen to the complaints of the aggrieved and to redress the wrongs of the unfortunate. Abū 'Amr bin Mu'āwiyah bin Ṣāliḥ

Ḥimṣī,[1] one of his chief judges, is especially renowned in history for his sense of justice.

In the comparatively brief period of peace that the Amīr had, he inaugurated a number of public welfare schemes. He revised the gradation of official ranks and the regulations of the police and introduced many new methods for the improvement of cultivation and repaired the old Roman highways[2] that traversed Spain. A system of couriers with relays of post-horses was established for the rapid transmission of important despatches. The ancient palace of Cordova, known as Bilāṭ Razrif, was beautified and enlarged. Close to the capital in the west he built a magnificent garden-palace for recreation and named it Munyat al-Ruṣāfah after his grandfather Hishām's villa at Damascus. 'Abd al-Raḥmān I had an aqueduct built under his direct supervision to supply the city of Cordva and especially his own palace and garden, Munyat al-Ruṣāfah, with water. The canal system in Spain was very similar to the systems prevailing in the East such as those relating to the Orontes in Syria and the Euphrates in 'Irāq. The Amīr, who had a taste for horticulture and was fond of flowers and fruits, sent for all kinds of seeds and plants to Syria, 'Irāq, Egypt and other oriental countries. Thus an exquisitely beautiful garden in imitation of the Syrian Ruṣāfah was planted and among many eastern plants the palm, the peach and the pomegranate, imported from distant climes, were introduced.[3] They were nursed in palace-gardens and distributed to other parts of Spain. Rummān safri of Ruṣāfah, a very sweet variety of the pome-

1. *Cf.* Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Khilāfat-i-Muwaḥḥidīn, pp. 13-14.
2. *Cf.* Menendez Pidal, *Historia de Espana*, II, pp. 569-570.
3. *Cf.* Gayangos, I, p. 86.

granate with exquisite flavour, was one of the rare plants sent by his sister Umm Aṣbagh or some friends from the East.[3] A mint was established at Cordova to strike coins[4] similar to those issued from Damascus. He distributed alms among the needy and made donations towards the improvement of public works. An aqueduct was built to supply Cordova with water. The Amīr spent 80,000 dīnārs on building the Grand Mosque of Cordova, which rivals in beauty and grandeur the best of its kind in any part of the Muslim world. In 785 he bought the second half of the existing Cathedral for 100,000 dinārs, its first half having been already converted into a mosque by the early Muslims in 748 A. D. and in compensation permitted the renovation of several ruined churches. Under extreme pressure retaining many features of the earlier basilica, the Mosque was constructed with eleven naves running from south to north in twelve months time. The ceiling of the Cordova Mosque built during his time is one of the finest examples of wood-work to which additions were made until the time of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr. A beautiful example of eastern artistry was given by the wood-workers and artists in their drawings of geometrical figures on the wooden ceilings of the major nave built during his rēgime. The city wall of Cordova, which had been built by Samḥ b. Malik al-Khawlānī in 720 A. D. but had gone out of use, was rebuilt with seven gates. Mosques, baths and forts were erected in every province of the kingdom.

His patronage of letters attracted men of learning to his court. Himself a litterateur of no mean order, the Amīr

3. *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*, Vol. I, pp. 217-218; Ribera, *Aljoxani*, p. 33 text/41 tr.
4. No gold coin of the Amirate period has come down to us.

held periodical literary discourses to which famous men of letters and science were invited. Among the literary figures of his court mention may be made of Abū al-Mutaḥashshā, the poet, Shaykh Abū Mūsā Hawārī, legist, Shaykh Ghāzī b. Qays, theologian and linguist who brought al-Mawaṭṭah of Mālik b. Anas (715-92 A. D.) to Spain during his time. 'Īsā b. Dīnār, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and Sa'īd b. Ḥasan were other distinguished literary figures of his court. Among his favourite singing girls was one Afza, who was excellent in ghinā' and sang to the 'ūd. In spite of the fact that 'Abd al-Raḥmān I was mostly engaged in warfare, art and letters flourished in Spain. It was really his noble qualities, gentleness and patronage, that the origin of all that was best in the civilization of the Muslims in Spain should be attributed. But for him and his dynasty the growth of civilization in Europe would have been delayed by many centuries.

CHAPTER IV

HĪSHĀM I (788-796 A. C.)

Succession :—'Abd al-Raḥmān I had two sons, Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh by a Syrian wife and a third son, Hishām, by a Spanish slave girl named Ḥulal. He nominated the youngest son, Hishām, as his successor as he was considered to be a model of virtue and he promised to be an administrator of a high calibre. Just after his father's death Hishām, then governor of Merida, was declared the Amīr of Spain. He was 32 years old. His reign was marked by a number of rebellions all of which he successfully crushed. His difficulties remind us of those that were experienced by the second Mughal Emperor, Humāyūn, in India. The Iberian Peninsula had been conquered by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I but the people of the land had not been subdued nor had the factions among the Muslims been eliminated. Apart from dealing with the quarrel that broke out between the Christians and the Muslims, Hishām had to find solutions for many other knotty problems. Like the brothers of Humāyūn, Hishām's brothers were not only disloyal but actively hostile.

Revolt of HiShām's Brothers :—Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh met at Toledo in 173/789-90 to devise ways and means of overthrowing Hishām. They declared their independence and mobilised their forces at Toledo. The Amīr attempted to pacify them but in vain. Finally he had to march at the head of an army 20,000 strong against Sulaymān who was able to muster more than 15,000 soldiers in the battle. The two armies met near Boulk or Boolche [1] in 790 A. C. The army of

1. Boolche is not in existence now.

Sulaymān was routed. The Amīr marched to take Toledo which was defended by Prince 'Abd Allāh. The inadequate number of his troops and the defeat of Sulaymān compelled 'Abd Allāh to surrender. The Amīr gave 'Abd Allāh a fief near Toledo. In Murcia Sulaymān made the necessary preparations for a final engagement with his brother ; but Mu'āwiyah, the son of Hishām, took the initiative against his uncle Sulaymān and defeated him in a pitched battle at Lorca in 174/760-1. Sulaymān expressed repentance for his past conduct and the Amīr pardoned him but ordered him to surrender to him his fief at Toledo for 60,000 dīnārs and leave Spain for Tangier in West Africa. 'Abd Allāh also accompanied Sulaymān. Prince Ḥakam, son of Hishām, was appointed governor of Toledo in 176/792.

Rebellion in Eastern Spain : -While Hishām was engaged in dealing with his rebel brothers, the Yamanites created a disturbance in the east of the country. Under the leadership of Sa'īd bin Ḥusayn bin Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī they raised the standard of rebellion at Tortosa in 172/788 and expelled the Umayyad tax-collector Yūsuf Qaysī. The Muḍarites gathered under Mūsā bin Fortunio a neo-Muslim chief of the Banū Qasī, an old Visigothic family, and fought on behalf of the Umayyad King of Cordova against the Yamanites. The latter were defeated, Sa'īd was killed and Tortosa fell into the hands of Mūsā. The rebels gathered under the banner of Ḥajdar, a client of Ḥusayn bin Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī. In the meantime Maṭrūḥ, the son of Sulaymān bin Yaqzān, rebelled at Barcelona. Mūsā was defeated and the rebels occupied Tortosa, Saragossa, Barcelona, Huesca and Tarragona. These rebels threatened the very existence of the Umayyad kingdom in Spain but Hishām proved

equal to the task. He sent Abū 'Uthmān 'Ubayd Allāh bin 'Uthmān, the governor of Valencia, against the rebels with a large army in 175/791. Saragossa was besieged, Maṭrūḥ was killed by his own men, the rebels were defeated and dispersed and Mūsā bin Fortunio was appointed governor of Saragossa.[1]

Invasion of France :— After restoring peace at home Hishām was free to take steps against the Christian chiefs in the north who were a permanent source of trouble to the Muslims. The raids were always fomented by the Franks. In 176/792 Hishām sent his forces under Abū 'Uthmān to invade the southern provinces of France, whose rulers were the inveterate enemies of the Muslims. The army was divided into two columns. One column under the command of 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd al-Wāḥid overran Cerdagne in 792 A. C, and defeated the Franks at Narbonne which had for a long time been the capital of Muslims in Septimania (South France). Narbonne was thus recaptured by the Muslims thirty-two years after its fall. Gerona, the key city of the Pyrenees, was also conquered. The Christians had no strong force to oppose the Muslims. Charlemagne was engaged in Germany and his son Louis, the king of Aquitaine, in Italy. The Muslims were, however, opposed by peasants under the leadership of William, the Duke of Toulouse. A battle took place at Villedaigne on the bank of the Orbina. The Duko of Toulouse was defeated and Septimania with its many towns came into the possession of the Muslims. Another division of the Muslim army, forty thousand strong, under the leadership of 'Abd al-Karīm bin 'Abd al-Wāḥid, attacked Asturias and Galicia. BermudoI

1. *Cf.* Ibn Athir, Vol. VI, pp. 80, 83, 84 quoted by Riyasat 'Alī, pp. 340-341.

the King of Asturias and his nephew Alfonso II led the Asturians and the Galicians against the Muslims. A number of battles were fought in which a large number of Christians were killed. Bermudo I was defeated by Yūsuf bin Bakht and Alfonso by 'Abd al-Karīm. When the news of the victory of the Muslims reached Cordova there was great rejoicing in the capital. On their return journey, however, the Muslims were attacked and worsted by the enemy and some of their generals were killed. The Muslims had to retreat and a Christian state which was to be a source of trouble throughout the period of the Muslim rule in Spain was thus established in the North on a firm footing as will be detailed later.

Introduction of Māliki doctrines in Spain :—Hishām was a pious man and unlike his father he was under the influence of Fuqahā' (theologians). He, however, had one psychological defect ascribed from the days of his youth. He had been told by a soothsayer that he was destined to reign only for a short period of eight years. This proved to be true as the tradition goes. The Amīr was, therefore, greatly influenced by this prediction. Instead of extending and consolidating his kingdom, he directed his energies mostly to safeguard his life after death. He subordinated his worldly activities to his works of piety. He was, in a sense, a second 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz among the Umayyads. He became a disciple and follower of Imām Mālik ibn Anas, the founder of the Mālikī sect, one of the four orthodox schools. Imām Mālik, who was born at Madīnah in 715 A. C., was hated and despised by the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah Ja'far al-Manṣūr for his support of the 'Alid pretender Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. Hishām sent for Mālik b. Anas with a request to settle in Spain but despite 'Abbasid oppression he did not

agree. Hishām encouraged theological students to make journeys to Madīnah in order to learn religious science at the feet of Ibn Anas and introduce his doctrine in Spain. Among his Spanish pupils the names of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and 'Īsā b. Dīnār may be mentioned and, particularly, the former who received the title of 'the wise man of Spain' from Imām Mālik himself. When his Spanish pupils brought reports to the Imām of Hishām's piety and virtues, he proclaimed Hishām alone worthy of ascending the throne.

Hishām made efforts to spread the Mālikī rites in his kingdom, and had the Mālikī doctrines adopted by the state, where hitherto the *madhhab* (Sunni rite) followed had been that of al-Awzā'ī.[1] The views propounded by Mālik bin Anas were similar to those of al-Awzā'i but slightly improved. In selecting judges and important ecclesiastical officials Hishām showed preference to Imām Mālik's disciples. Abū 'Abd Allāh Zayyād ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayyād al-Lakhmī, better known as Shabaṭūn (d. 204/819), and the Berber Faqīh Yaḥyā bin Yaḥyā al-Laythī on their return from Madīnah propagated the ideas of the great Imām Mālik through their writings and speeches. The *Kitāb al-Muwaṭṭah* written by Imām Mālik, which is the earliest authority on Muslim laws, was copied and circulated throughout the kingdom of Spain. The Mālikī theologians were not only given high posts but had the audacity to scold

1. He was a Syrian Imām (leader of Muslim oration) called Awzai (d. 774 A. C.) . His chief Spanish disciple had been Sa'sa'a bin Salām al-shāmī (796 or 807). who was the Mufti and the Chief Imam of the Cordova Mosque and who planted trees in its curtyard (E. G. Gomez' *Historia de Espana*, Tomo IV, p. 98.). Al-Awzā'ī sometimes after 750 settled in Beirut and reconciled to Abbasid regime, though remained out of the touch of politics.

Hishām for some minor violation of the Islamic codeof conduct to which the Amīr used to respond by offering apologies. Hishām loved to place his confidence in those in whom he failed to detect the germs of common worldly ambition and love of power. It is evident from their activities that their aim and object were religious-cum-political. An effect of the theologians' influence on Hishām I was that the Christians were kept away at an arm's length although the Amīr was not intolerant. Usual tolerance towards them would have possibly proved conducive to their conversion to Islām as it happened in others' reign.

Death :- Hishām ruled over Spain for about eight years. He died at the age of forty in 796 A. C. Before his death he had the governors of the various provinces and the learned men of the capital summoned to his presence in order to take the oath of allegiance at the hands of his son al-Ḥakam.

Achievements and Character :—'Abd al-Raḥmān I had laid the foundation of the Umayyad kingdom in Spain, but it was left for his successor to build it on a sound footing. Hishām's reign though not distinguished by great military enterprises or by brilliant administration was never-the-less successful in weathering the storm faced by the newly founded state. Hishām had checked the Astcrian onslaught under Bermudo I and Alfonso II. He had invaded and ravaged South France and had thwarted the repeated attempts of the rebel chiefs to overthrow him. The rebels were numerous and for the greater part of his reign Hishām was busy in dealing with them. He succeeded in quelling these uprisings with the help of his three sons 'Umayd al-Malik, Mu'āwīyah and Ḥakam. The two sons of 'Abd al-Wāḥid Mughīth namely 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Karīm also helped him.

The short period of peace and tranquility which he enjoyed towards the end of his reign was devoted to the development of culture and social life and of the machinery of State. He confirmed his father's wazirs and officers in their posts and made no unnecessary changes in the administration of the country. Corrupt officers, as Maqqarī says, were, however, dismissed and never reappointed.[1] He stopped the collection of unlawful taxes and ordered the collection of the *zakāt* and the *ṣadaqah* (alms). He employed men of learning as his judges. Muṣ'ab bin 'Imrān, the chief judge of Cordova, was noted for his sense of justice and his secretary Muḥammad bin Bashīr al-Madīri, for his knowledge and piety. The policy of Hishām improved commerce and trade and augmented financial resources of his kingdom. The Amīr rebuilt the bridge over the Guadalquivir and constructed roads. He also built a beautiful fountain which increased the beauty of the capital. Hishām built new palaces, repaired old public buildings paying special attention to the building of the Jāmi'Masjid at Cordova, begun by his father. It was 600 feet long and 250 feet wide. This project cost him one hundred and sixty thousand dīnārs. Even after the lapse of 1, 100 years it yet retains its original beauty and charm. Several other mosques were also constructed.[2]

Like 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz of Damascus he used to send secret agents to the various parts of his kingdom to enquire into the conditions of his sujbects and to ascertain the ability and worth of his governors and officials. If any charge was proved against any officer he was obliged to make due amends and was dismissed from service.

1. *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*, Vol. 1, p. 158 see also *Majmu'ahAkhbār Undalus*, p. 121.
2. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 158 ; Riyāsat 'Ali, 1, p. 353.

To acquaint himself with the condition of the general[1] masses of the people, he himself went round the streets of Cordova at night in disguise. The difficulties of the complainants in law courts were resolved. He used to nurse the sick and pray for their recovery. At times, he even attended funeral ceremonies and himself led the funeral prayers which made for his popularity and lore among the people. It was the benign character of the Amīr that made Muṣ'ab accept his offer of the post of Chief Judge which he had once refused in the previous reign. Reviving the days of the pious caliphs, Hishām established a council of *Shūrā* and consulted its members in every affair. By his influence and example, the Amīr gave fresh impetus to the cultivation of literature. He established schools for the study of Arabic which was the state language and encouraged religious learning so as to spread the Mālikī rite in Spain. The Syriac jurisprudence of the Awzā'ī school operated in Spain till the introduction of the Mālikī rite. Thereafter the study of law according to the Mālikī system was included in the curriculum of the schools in Spain. Music was patronized by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I but was proscribed in his reign. He was fond of Arabic poetry and was himself a poet of no mean order. 'Amr ibn 'Alī Ghaffār was the famous poet of his court. Among the learned men, whom Hishām patronised, were 'Īsā bin Dīnār, 'Abd al-Malik bin Ḥabīb, Yaḥyā and Ibn Abū Hind.[1]

Like his father, Hishām called himself Amīr as evident from the fact that he made no change in the system of the coinage. He was a man of regular habit and fine temperament. The Amīr lived a simple and religious life wearing the white dress of his dynasty. He was very popular

1. *Cf.* Riyāsat 'Ali—*The Tā'rikh-'i-Undalus*, 1, p. 353.

with the legists, who had hardly any influence in his father's court. He was humane and just and kept the doors of his palace open for needy persons who could approach him unhindered and unchecked. His poor subjects, who were not able to come to him, were visited by him at their abodes. He was generous and distributed money among the needy.

CHAPTER III

ḤAKAM I (796-822 A. C.)

Succession :— After the death of Hishām his son Ḥakam,[1] called Abū'l 'Āṣ, succeeded him in the month of Ṣafar 180/796. He was then barely 22 years old. He appointed as his Ḥājib (prime minister) 'Abd al-Karīm, son of the previous Ḥājib Abū'l Walīd.

Ḥakam's Unpopularity among the Fuqahā' :— Ḥakam was a young man of pleasing disposition. He was wise, brave and the first Andalusian Prince to surround himself with pomp and grandeur but he was addicted to wine. This brought him into conflict with the theologians, who had enjoyed unrestricted power under Hishām and he now took steps to curtail their power. The disciples of Mālik ibn Anas had become very powerful in the State, but Ḥakam refused to grant them the privileges they claimed and declared that theologians should have nothing to do with the affairs of the State. When Hishām died a complete change had come over the court. The new Amīr though not irreligious was by nature gay, social and enjoyed life as it came to him with the slightest leaning towards ascetism. Such a character was wholly objectionable to the theologians. Though men of religious character they aspired to dominate the political affairs of the State. Behind the garb of religion they concealed their true character and exposed it when they found the situation favourable to their interest. The diametrically opposite forces of faith and scepticism formed

1. His mother's name was Zakhraf see Ibn al-Khaṭib, *The Khilāfat-i-Muwaḥḥidin*, p, 13; Riyāsat 'Alī, I, p.357,

inconsistencies in their mind which they could hardly reconcile. As a result when the Amīr refused to continue to them the privileges granted earlier they were disappointed and began to curse Ḥakam I publicly and denounce him from the pulpit as an irreligious Amīr.[1] Exception was taken to his habit of drinking and to his practice of recruiting Negroes as his bodyguard. Ḥakam I had created a professional army by employing slaves specially Negroes in large number. The Amīr though now became independent of his subjects yet it created a problem difficult to be tackled by him.

The theologians used as their tool the neo-Muslims or *muwalladūn* over whom they had great influence. In religious matters these *muwalladūn* were governed by Muslim law but socially they were despised, reckoned as slaves and occasionally excluded from their due share in the government. They, therefore, responded to the call of the Fuqahā'. The greatest theologian of the time was the Berber Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā of the tribe of Maṣmūdah, client of the 'Arab tribe of Banī al-Layth, whose grandfather had accompanied Ṭāriq to Spain. He was an assiduous pupil of Mālik ibn Anas. 'Isā ibn Dīnār and other theologians who were opposed to Ḥakam entered into a plot with a section of the nobility to raise Muḥammad b. Qāsim known as Ibn Ilshmash a descendant of Mundhir b. 'Abd al Raḥmān I to the throne of Cordova. The plot was divulged to al-Ḥakam by Ibn Ilshmash himself and the leading fuqahā' and nobles, about seventy-two in number, including six of the most influential nobles of Cordova,

1. Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VI, p. 128.

were killed. Yaḥyā and 'Īsā ibn Dīnār escaped to Toledo, which had, meanwhile, asserted its independence.

Revolt of his Uncles :—Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh, Ḥakam's uncles, were still alive. Having heard of the death of Hishām and the succession of Ḥakam they once again tried to seize the throne. They wanted to divide Spain into three parts. They excited the people of Toledo, Valencia and other places to rebel against Ḥakam. Sulaymān gathered a large army at Tangier to which place 'Abd Allāh had fled from his fief of Toledo. He then crossed over to Valencia. On being the eldest son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the founder of the Umayyad kingdom in Spain, he claimed the throne for himself. 'Abd Allāh won over some men to his side by promising them high posts and seized Toledo in 181/797. He asked the Frankish Emperor Charlemagne for help. Sulaymān joined 'Abd Allāh on the bank of the Tagus and awaited the result of the war fought between Ḥakam and the Franks as will be described later. Ḥakam was a great general and his soldiers were well trained and experienced. On the other hand the supporters of 'Abd Allāh and Sulaymān were all adventurers having no military training. Several battles were fought but with doubtful results. In 185/801 Sulaymān was defeated at Kharīsh (a village in the province of Cordova) for the third time and he fled towards Merida but was overtaken and killed. Most of the followers of Sulaymān were also killed. The members of his family were brought from Saragossa and given fiefs.[1] 'Abd Allāh took refuge in Valencia. After some time he was pardoned. He then retired to Tangier

1. Ibn Athīr, Vol, pp. 102, 110, 111, and 114.

and sent his two sons Aṣbagh[1] and Qāsim as hostages to Cordova in 186/802. They were given lands. Ḥakam gave his sister in marriage to Aṣbagh and appointed him governor of Merida.

War with the Franks :—While Ḥakam was making preparations to lead an expedition against his uncle, news of the expulsion of the Muslims from the southern parts of France reached him. The Muslims were driven out of Narbonne and Gerona by Louis, son of Charlemagne. The Muslim governors of Huesca and Lerida in Northern Spain had joined hands with the Franks. Sulaymān in the meantime had taken possession of Valencia. About this time while Louis the younger son of Charlemagne and the king of Aquitaine held a meeting of his Diet at Toulouse an ambassador from Alfonso, King of Galicia and the Asturias, came with a proposal that the Christians should jointly attack the common enemy, the Umayyad ruler of Cordova. Louis with his brother Charles led expeditions to the banks of the Ebro. The Amīr was in great straits. He sent a few tried generals specially 'Abd al-Karīm bin Mughīth at the head of a large army to the frontier in 767 A. C. This campaign met with unexpected success and within a short time it recovered all the lost places, such as Gerona, Huesca and Lerida on the Franco-Spanish border. In most cases the Christians surrendered. Zayd, the Governor of Barcelona, who had been harassed by the Franks, now obtained much needed relief. Crossing the Pyrenees the Amīr recaptured southern France temporarily. After this victory he was called al-Muẓaffar.

1. Riyāsat 'Alī, p. 369—Aṣbagh; Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, Vol. 1, p. 444—Esbah.

Foundation of the Gothic March :—The Umayyad defence was based on Saragossa for the Upper March, on Toledo for the Middle March, and on Merida for the Lower March. Beyond these frontier cities there was no man's land. This tract of land was loosely held by the Muslims or Christians on the northern front. As the permanent occupation of Spain was not possible, the Frankish Emperor, Charlemagne, founded and maintained a border principality to harass the Muslims and to check their advance into France. The principality of the Gothic March, which was founded in 798 A. C. on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees under the supervision of Louis, the King of Aquitaine, served this purpose well like an advanced post of France. The first lord of this principality which extended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro and from Pamplona to Barcelona was Borel, a Frankish noble. Cardona and Gerona were the chief cities of this principality, which became the refuge of Christians dissatisfied with Muslim rule.

In their national assemblies held in 801 A. C. the Fra-anks decided to capture Barcelona.[1] The Frankish army was split into two divisions, one under the command of the Count of Gerona to lay siege to the city, and the other led by William, Count of Toulouse, to prevent any relief coming from Cordova. The garrison of Barcelona made desperate attempts to repulse the besiegers. The citi-zens also, including the Christians, sought to defend the

1. Charles died and Charlemagne succeeded in December 800. In thn following year he received an Abbasid ambassador at his Pal-ace in Aix-La-Chapelle with valuable presents including a rare elephant and a brass clock worked by a hydraulic power making the twelve hours of the day.

town, but scarcity of food compelled them to surrender. The Muslims had to vacate the town and the Governor, Zayd (Fr. Zadon, Zadun or Zoton)[1] who had gone to Cordova to ask for help, was disgraced. The most important frontier town was thus lost after ninety years of occupation owing to the delay of Ḥakam in coming to its rescue and the Franks then entered the north-eastern part of Spain and conquered Huesca, Tarragona and other places. The Amīr at last reorganized his army and marched to stop the advance of the enemy. In the meantime Toledo was on the point of revolt against the Amīr who left a contingent of his army to protect Toledo and advanced to meet the Franks. He first took Saragossa which was of great strategic importance, then recovered all the lost towns except Barcelona, and drove the Christians back across the Ebro. After these successes he returned to Cordova, where he was received amidst great rejoicing. In 803 A. C., however, the Christians attacked Tudela and took many Muslims prisoner along with Governor Yūsuf bin 'Amrūs, but soon they had to abandon the city and release the Governor when 'Amrūs bin Yūsuf another general came with large reinforcement.

In the year 192/806 the Christians of France again invaded Spain and besieged Tortosa twice, but abandoned it in disgrace. In the first siege the Christians had the worst of the exchange but the Muslims failed to take full advantage of the weakness of the enemy. The crown Prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān strengthened by an auxiliary force provided by the Governor of Valencia took the field against them. The Prince inflicted a signal defeat on the Christians under

1. Not *Zaitūn* as written by H. K. Sherwani, *Muslim Colonies*, p. 101

Louis and returned victorious to the capital. But the Christians the following year again attacked Spain and captured Lusitania. In 197/812 the Amīr himself took the field against the invaders. He drove the Christians to the borders of France and once again occupied many forts and cities in the North. A sanguinary battle took place between the Muslims and the Franks. Such a large number of the Franks were killed that their dead bodies littered the whole field. The Christians although defeated were not totally crushed, and again and again they attacked the northern provinces of Spain. Charlemagne and Ḥakam I negotiated for truce for the first time in 810 and two years later a Muslim ambassador most probably Admiral Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam arranged another truce at Aix-la-Chapelle for three years but soon it was broken. Finally in 200/816 peace was concluded between the courts of Cordova and Aix-la-Chapelle and no further disturbance was caused by the Franks in the last seven years of Ḥakam's reign.

The Day of the Ditch (*Fosse*) :— Toledo, the former capital of the Visigothic kingdom, was still an important city in Muslim Spain, though it had lost its former glory. The inhabitants of Toledo were mainly neo-Muslims with an important Christian minority. Both sections of the population were discontented under 'Arab rule, the former because they were despised for their lack of 'Arab blood and the latter because they longed for their erstwhile independence. Only a few 'Arabs and Berbers had settled there and consequently rebellious alliances between the rebels—neo-Muslims and Christians—were made possible. For example 'Ubaydah bin Ḥamīd revolted against Ḥakam and declared his independence at Toledo. 'Amrūs bin Yūsuf, a neo-Muslim from

Huesca, who held command at Talavera,[1] was sent to restore peace there. The town was besieged and the Banū Makhshīs[2] were induced to kill 'Ubaydah. The Toledans surrendered, and 'Amrūs, son of Yūsuf, was appointed governor of the town. But the Toledans were a difficult people to govern, and under the leadership of the poet Gharbīb, a neo-Muslim, they again created trouble. During the life time of Gharbīb, Ḥakam could not suppress their rebellion, but when the former died 'Amrūs bin Yūsuf was again deputed to restore order in the town. A wise man and an able administrator, he gained the confidence of the Toledans and obtained the consent of the people to build a fort in the north-east of the city not far from the bridge on the Tagus and to maintain a reserve force. The people of Toledo thought that 'Amrūs was inimical to the 'Umayyad Amīr because in order to please them he had often spoken ill of the Amīr. When the Crown Prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān visited the city in 181/797,[3] the nobles of the city were invited to an entertainment in that castle only to be killed treacherously by the Governor, their dead bodies were flung into a trench. This event is known as "the Day of the Ditch" (*or Fosse*). The exact figure of

1. 'Amrūs (Āmr) was born of a Christian mother and a Muslim father. In 809, after the death of the French Commander in Aragon, Count Aureole, 'Amrūs as Governor of Saragossa took possession of all the French Aragonese towns (Cf. Dom Bouquet's Collection, Vol. V. pp. 58 ff quoted by Reinaud (tr. H. K. Sherwani, *Muslim colonies*, p. 105.

2. Ibn Athīr, VI, pp. 108-109.

3. E. G. Gomez, *Historia*, IV. p. 104; Dozy (*Spanish Islam*, p. 246) says that 'Amrus was appointed governor in 191/807; Riyāsat 'Ali (Vol. I, p. 362) follows Dozy.

the victims is not known. It varied between 700 and 5,000.[1] This act of brutality was committed by the Governor on a secret order from the Amīr. Toledo was thus deprived of its chiefs and complete peace and tranquility restored for years to come.[2]

Rebellion in Merida and Beja :— Aṣbagh, a cousin and brother-in-law of Ḥakam, was the governor of Merida. There was misunderstanding between the Amīr and the Governor. A wazīr whom Aṣbagh had dismissed reported to the Amīr that Aṣbagh was preparing to declare his independence. The Amīr ordered the dismissal of the Governor, who thereupon rebelled. Ḥakam sent his experienced generals to apprehend him but they were not successful in capturing the rebel. The Amīr then personally marched to Merida in 806 A. C. However, Aṣbagh's wife, who happened to be the sister of the Amīr, interceded for her husband and the Amīr forgave and restored him to his position. Ḥazm bin Wahb and Walīd rebelled one after another at Beja in 807 and 817 A. C. but they were defeated and punished.

Revolt of the Cordovans :—Ḥakam was not popular among the Fuqahā' as stated above. A rising was provoked in the suberb south of the Guadalquivir because of his harshness. He conceded less privileges to the theologians than his father had. This led to several uprisings, in which the neo-Muslims were a great factor. The Amīr trusted no one and increased the number of his bodyguard,

1. *The Western Caliphate* by Rafael Altamira in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 1922, p. 415.

2. Ibn Athīr, Vol, I, pp. 135-137 ; Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, pp. 45-49, see also Riyāsat 'Ali, Vol. I, pp. 362-367 and E. G. Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, IV, pp. 103-104.

composed mainly of Negroes and Christians to a strength of about 6,000. They were called mutes because they did not know Arabic. The Amīr had to spend a large sum of money on this spacial force and, therefore, he had to impose town duties and extra taxes on the Cordovans. The Negroes very often indulged in acts of lawlessness. This infuriated the Cordovans and though after the massacre of the nobles of Toledo, that city and Cordova remained peaceful for sometime, discontent nevertheless grew steadily among the students and Fuqahā' in the quarter of *Arrabal del sur*, the southern part of the capital, and a serious rebellion broke out in 813 A. C. One day when the Amīr was going as usual to the mosque to say his prayers, a citizen insulted him to his face much to the gratification of the people. The Amīr was infuriated at this insult and had ten men executed in punishment. This enraged the Cordovans all the more.

The theologians continued to inflame the passions of the Cordovans. Yaḥyā fomented a movement for rebellion. According to Abū Marwān bin Ḥayyān, the theologian who took the most active part in instigating the people to rise against the Amīr, was Ṭālūṭ.[1] One day in the month of Ramaḍān 198/May 814 a member of the Amīr's bodyguard asked an armourer to polish his sword. When the armourer delayed in doing this the bodyguard became excited and killed him. An armed mob, therefore, gathered before the Palace intending to kill the Amīr who shut himself up in his Palace. He sent a contingent of troops to disperse the rebels but it was defeated. In rage Ḥakam ran out of the Palace to fight against the rebellious Cordovans and

1. *Cf.* Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *the Khilafot-i- Muwaḥḥidin*, p. 16.

ordered his cousin 'Ubayd Allāh, one of the brave warriors of his days, to cut his way out through the mob with a band of picked horsemen and to set fire to the *Arrabal del Sur*, south of the Guadalquivir. When the mob left the Palace to extinguish the fire and to save their children and property, the Amīr and his cousin 'Ubayd Allāh attacked the mob from two sides with such fury that the Cordovans fled in confusion. The Negro bodyguard slaughtered them right and left. A few theologians on the very day of conflict came to Ḥakam to ask for pardon on behalf of the Cordovans but they were put into prison and their guard Judayr was ordered to kill them. When Judayr hesitated Ḥakam dismissed him and appointed Ibn Nadir in his stead.[1]

The traitors to the number of 300 including 36 leaders were hanged head downwards as a special mark of disfavour in the Alcazar at the Bāb al-Sudda which was the traditional place for execution. The population of the *Arrabal del Sur* was ordered to quit Cordova in three days though Yaḥyā, Ṭālūt and several other notable theologians were set free and their quarters were levelled to the ground. Some 8,000 families found asylum in Morocco, particulary at Fez, which Idrīs II, a descendant of 'Alī, was then building up as his new capital. As the 'Arabs of Qayrawān and Cordova hated each other they were settled in two separate parts of the city with a wall between them. A further 15,000 exiles migrated to Alexandria and from there to Crete where they founded an independent kingdom under Abū Hafṣ 'Umar al-Ballūṭī. Their kingdom lasted till 991 A. C. when Crete was conquered by

1. Cf. J. Ribera (Abenalcotia), *Historia de la Conquista de Espana*, Madrid, 1926, pp. 55-57 text (44-46 translation).

the Greeks.[1] Though there was nothing besides force to support the central authority, the rise of a new class of Muwalladūn was an indication to Umayyad tolerance and justice.

Conquest of the Balearic Islands :—To safeguard their towns in Spain and France the 'Arabs had to rely on their navy. The Umayyads, therefore, tried to improve their naval power during the time of Ḥakam I. In 808 A. D. the Spanish Muslims made an unsuccessful attack on Sardinia. They later attacked Corsica but were repulsed with a loss of thirteen ships by Barchard.[2] In another affray of Corsica in 813 they captured about 500 prisoners and devastated the environs of Nice in Provence and also those of Rome.[3] In the year 202/818 the Muslim navy made an expedition to the islands of Iviza, Majorca and Sardinia and conquered the Balearic islands. In 820 Sardinia was again attacked and Christian vessels were either sunk or put to flight.

Death :— Continuous rebellions had kept the Amīr in a state of permanent mental anxiety which told severely upon his health. Weakened by the strain, he fell ill and died of fever on 26th Dhū al-ḥijjah 206/ May 822 at the age of fifty-two. He had reigned for 26 years and was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān II.

Achievements and Character : – Ḥakam I supervised the affairs of his State and a well-established system of espionage

1. Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Tome I, Bruxelles, 1935, pp. 49-55 (*Conquete de la Crete par les Arabes*) ; *Cf.* author's paper on *the Rule of Cordovan Muslims in Iqritish (Crete) in the Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1960 ; *Cf.* Appendix of the book.

2. *Collection of the Historians de France*, Vol II, p. 56 quoted by Reinaud (tr. H. k. Sherwanī), *Muslim Colonies*, p. 197.

3. Cf. Bouquet's Collection, Vol. V. p. 62 quoted by Reinaud, I. 108

kept him informed of the happenings throughout the country. He was just and tolerant and punished those, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, who infringed the laws or were guilty of oppression. Thus when Rabi, a tax-collector of Elvira, oppressed the Christian tenants, he was duly punished in 206/821-2.[1] In collecting taxes no consideration was made of Islamic principles. Only he who could administer impartial justice was appointed as judge. The chief justice Muṣ'ab compelled even the Amīr to return a slave girl to her master of Jaen.[2] Muṣ'ab's successor Muḥammad bin Bashīr (d. 813-4 A. C.) did not hesitate to administer justice against his former master 'Abbās bin 'Abd Allāh al-Qarshi, the Governor of Beja and a great favourite of Ḥakam.[3]

Ḥakam I was the first Amīr in Spain to make regular payment to the troops. But the feudatory system was not totally abolished. The task of collecting taxes in his kingdom was entrusted to the Christian Rabi, son of the Teodulfo.[4] The land-tax collected in kind amounted to 4, 700 mudd of wheat and 7,747 mudd of barley.[5] According to al-Bakri the total revenue collected annually during his time was 600,000 dinars.[6] Magazines were constructed, new weapons were devised, a permanent force of mercenaries was kept and guards were posted at the gate of the Palace. He increased the number of Mamluks consisting of Christians and Negroes in the army and kept a standing force of 5,000 in the capital and 2,000 in two

1. Ibn Athīr, Vol. p. 176.
2. *Majmu'ah al-Akhbār Undalus*, pp. 124, 126.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.
4. Levi-Provencal, I, 164, III; 32
5. Gayangos, I, 213
6. Quoted by Hole, p. 70.

camps on the bank of the Guadalquivir in front of the Palace. Among the military commanders there was *'arif*[1] officer-in-charge of 100 soldiers. As a result of his military strength and tactics the Amīr established peace in the country and compelled Charlemagne to conclude a treaty with him.

In order to safeguard his kingdom against Frankish attacks he entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the Īdrisids of Morocco in 805 A. C. He ruled with an iron hand, put down all rebellions and successfully dealt with the Christians of the North, who were a permanent source of trouble to the Muslims. Some historians consider him to be a failure, but credit must be given to him for his vigour and firmness. He may well be compared with Muḥammad Tughlaq of India. His failure was mainly due to his anti-'Ulamā' policy. A strong man like him was needed at that time.

'Arab writers like Ibn Ḥazm consider him to be a tyrant. He earned the epithet of Abu'l 'Aṣī (Fr. Aboulaz), the father of the wicked, from his subjects. He killed among others the learned theologian Abū Bakr Zakariya, who had attended in the East the lectures of Sufyān al-Thūri, Mālik ibn Anas, and expelled many others. But and after their expulsion from Cordova he gave the theologians proof of clemency. Most of them, who had taken refuge in Toledo, were called back and permitted to settle anywhere in Spain except Cordova and their property was restored. Ṭālūt bin 'Abd al-Jabbār, an 'Arab of the tribe of Ma'fir, was one of his great favourites in the beginning but later he instigated the people to rise

1. Akhbār Majmū'ah. 129-30.

against the Amīr. He was pardoned and restored to his former position; while the wazīr Abū'l Bassām, who wanted to betray his friend Ṭālūt, was disgraced. In the latter part of his life the Amīr lived in the company of the fuqahā'. They worked in close co-operation with the jurists coming from Qayrawān and other places and made chief contributions to the intellectual activity in the religious sphere. The codified work of Malikite rite named *Asadiyya* of Asad ibn al-Furāt was introduced into Spain about 800 by 'Isā bin Dinār (d. 827), who himself wrote a work in twelve volumes. Zayyād bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān was his great favourite faqīh on whose intercession the Amīr pardoned many. He dealt severely with the theologians and the Cordovans when they threatened the life and honour of the Amīr and his family. It is true that the Cordovans were severely punished but the crime which they had committed did not merit lesser punishment in the medieval age. They had made attempts on the life of the Amīr, a crime which is always punished with death.

Ḥakam indulged in luxury and amusement. Even when he was besieged by the mob he perfumed and combed his hair so that if he was killed in the skirmish his head could be distinguished from those of others. Hunting was his favourite pastime. Ḥakam was a poet and a lover of music and liked to be surrounded by poets and musicians. Among his court musicians were 'Abbās b. al-Nasā'i, Manṣūr, 'Alūn and Zarqūn The first one was the chief musician of his court. Manṣūr was a Jewish musician who had later the credit of introducing Ziryāb to the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. 'Alūn and Zarqūn being known for their musical skill had been invited from the East. Learned men, poets and musicians were respected and were bestowed with special favours and privileges,

CHAPTER VI

'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN II (822-852 A. C.)

Succession :—'Abd al-Raḥmān II, called al-Awsaṭ by the 'Arab historians, succeeded his father Ḥakam I in 206/822. His succession was not uncontested since 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, came back to Spain from Tangier on Ḥakam's death and intended to occupy the throne with the help of his sons, who were holding high posts in the Government. 'Abd Allāh, however, received no help from them and, therefore, had to submit to 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. He was appointed Governor of Murcia where he passed the rest of his life peacefully.

Courtiers :—It has been said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān was guided throughout his riegn by four persons—a theologian, a musician, a eunuch and a woman. The theologian was the Berber faqīh Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā bin Yaḥyā (d. 234/848), the ringleader of the mob, which had besieged Ḥakam at his Palace in Cordova. Having failed in his *coup*, Yaḥya realized that to gain power and influence in the kingdom, instead of showing hostility, the *fuqahā'* should win the ruler's heart. Judges were appointed after consultation with him but he himself did not accept any post. This increased his influence in the court all the more.

The musician was the Persian Ziryāb,[1] the surname of Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Nāfi' (789-857 A.C.), who was a great

1. Ziryāb is a kind of blackbird. According to Maqqarī this bird is like a *Zurrayq* which possesses quick understanding and surpases the parrot in memory, *Cf.* Hole, p, 169,

favourite of the Amīr. He first served in the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809 A.C.) of Baghdād. Under the famous singer Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī he had learnt music. In due course he surpassed his master in the art of singing. The teacher became jealous of his pupil and threatened him with death if he would not leave Baghdād. The young musician could not defy his teacher and emigrated to the Maghrib (Ifriqiyah). Ibn al-Qūṭiyah mentions another story which is nearer to the fact relating to his flight from the 'Abbāsid court. According to him Ziryāb served in the court of Khalifah Amīn after whose death in 813 he was reproached by his successor Mā'mūn about a certain matter. On Mā'mūn's arrival at Baghdād from Merv in 819 for the occupation of the throne Ziryāb escaped to North Africa.[1] He distinguished himself in the court of the Aghlabid ruler Ziyādat Allāh I (816-837) at Qayrawān. But one day when he sang of *Antarah* beginning with the words "If my mother were as black as a crow" before Ziyādat Allāh I, he was whipped and banished because, by chance, the mother of Ziyādat Allāh happened to be of dark complexion In 821 A. C. he left Ifrīqīyah for Spain where he had been invited by Ḥakam I but before his arrival the Amīr died He was brought to the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II by al-Manṣūr, a Jewish musician of the Umayyad court. He was cordially received by the Amīr, who gave him a splendid mansion to live in and assigned him an annual salary of 24,000 dīnārs besides the allowances on the occasion of annual festivals. Once the Amīr issued to Ziryāb a draft on the

1. Ribera, Julian—*Historia de la Conquesta de Espana*, Madrid, 1926, p, 68 text/53-4 tr.

treasury for 30,000 dīnārs but the senior treasurer refused to make payment from the public treasury and thus he gave proof of his obligations to the community. The treasurers were generally appointed from the leading families capable of standing up to the rulers.

Ziryāb surpassed other musicians in Spain being not only a singer but also a poet, astronomer, historian and geographer. He won the heart ot the Amīr by his music, but seldom tried to exploit his influnce in the court.[1] He introduced a number of Persian refinements in food and toilet, customs and manners of Baghdad society and taught the Sapniards good tone in fashions and cloths. Despite the political rivalry that existed between Muslim Spain and the Abbasid East, it was to the East that Spain looked for cultural guidance. Ziryāb established a school of music in Spain [2] and laid the foundation of an organized musical art. Zalzal, a great singer of Baghdād, had introduced a new type of lute called the *'ūd al-Shabbut* (perfect lute).[3] It was a lute mounted with four strings. Ziryāb added to it a fifth and substituted eagle's latons for wooden plectra. His second, third and fourth strings were made of the entrails of a young lion. These strings surpassed those of other lutes in strength, depth of tone and clearness of sound.

Maqqarī gives a vivid picture of Ziryāb's teaching his pupils. He tied a turban round the waist of a begin·er to stretch his voice and put a small piece wood thr e

1. *Cf* Maqqarī, II, pp. 87-88 : *Cf* Hitti, *History of the A·abs*, pp. 514-15 ; *Cf*. Levi-Provencal, *La civilizacion Arabe en Espana* (Sp tr.), pp. 68-70.

2. Hole, *Andalus*, pp. 167-169.

3. Farmer, *History of the Arabian Music*, pp. 118-9.

inches in length, into his mouth to expand his jaws and asked him to cry out at the top of his voice, *'yā ḥajjām* or *'āh'*.[1] His school produced many illustrious musicians and survived until the fall of the Umayyad Khilāfat in Spain.

The eunuch was the slave Naṣr, the royal chamberlain, and favourite of Sulṭānah Ṭarūb.[2] He was a non-'Arab called mute as he could not speak Arabic. The Amīr indulged himself in music and poetry so that Naṣr and Ṭarūb had great influence in the administration of the kingdom. The Sulṭānah was a greedy woman, who was never satisfied with anything given to her by the Amīr. Ṭarūb wore a necklace worth 10,000 dinars.[3] In 850 A. C. Naṣr was instigated by Ṭarūb to poison Prince Muḥammad, who had been declared heir-apparent in preference to her own son 'Abd Allāh, but the plot was discovered, and Naṣr was ordered by the Amīr to take the very poison prepared for Muḥammad. Thus the eunuch died at his own hands.

Rebellion in Tudmir and Merida :—In 722 A. C. the Yamanites and Muḍarites again began tribal war in Tudmir. To maintain peace Abū'l Shamakh Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm, the chief of the Muḍarites, was compelled to send hostages to Cordova and he himself had to serve in the royal army and the capital of Tudmir was transferred from Lorca to Murcia.

1. *Cf.* Gayangos, II, 116—121 ; Cf., Hole, p. 167.

2. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II had three Madinite slave girls Faḍl, 'Ilm and Qalam who were known for their wit, eloquence, grace, and soft-voice. Qalam was originally a Navarrese but polished and trained at the slave school of Madīnah. In imitation of the eastern slave schools, a school developed at Cordova. For the training of the slaves a syllabus was prepared by the famous physician Ibn Kinānī as recorded by Ibn Bassām. *Cf.* Hole. *Andalus*, p. 116; Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne*, p. 72.

3. Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, II, 94

In 212/828 the Jews and the Christians of Merida (Estremadura) rose in rebellion under the leadership of Maḥmūd ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār a former tax-collector and Sulaymān bin Mārtin.[1] The cause of this rebellion is said to have been the imposition of taxes on articles of daily use and the tyranny of the ministers and tax-collectors. The rebellion was instigated by Louis the Gentle who had succeeded his father Charlemagne in 814 A. D.[2] The Frankish King Luis sent the following letter to the Meridans ;

> "In the name of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Louis by the Grace of God, Emperor, Augustus ; To the primates and people of Merida ; Salutations in our Lord. We have been informed of your great distress and all that you have suffered at the cruel hands of King 'Abdur Raḥmān who is oppressing you and robbing you of you wealth. He is really following in the footsteps of his father Aboulaz, was imposing burdens on you which were not his due, and who thereupon turned his friends into enemiesr loyal subjects into rebels. He really wished to deprive you, of your liberty and to levy all kinds of taxes and to humiliate you in every way. Fortunately you have bravely resisted the injustice, barbarism and greed of your kings. All this has reached us from different quarters. We have consequently decided to write this letter in order to comfort you and ask you to remain staunch in the purpose which you have put before you forthe defence of your liberties. As this barbarian King is our enemy as well yours, we propose that we should show a united front against him. God willing, we intend to send an army to the other side of the Pyrenees next

1. *Cf.* E. G. Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, IV, pp. 139-141.
2. *Cf.* *Espana Sagrada*, XIII, p 416.

summer for your support. If 'Abdur Raḥmān or his troops try to march against you, our army will be able to make a powerful diversion. We declare that if you decide to throw off his yoke and give yourselves up to us, we will grant you again your ancient privileges without the least delay and will not ask any tribute from you. We shall further allow you to live under your own laws and we shall treat you as our friends and associates in the defence of our Empire. We pray God that He may keep you in the best of health."[1]

The rebels plundered the houses of the tax-collector and killed some of them in 828 A. C. Their number had increased to forty thousand and 'Abd al-Raḥmān II sent a force from Toledo under 'Abd al-Ra'ūf to restore peace. The city walls were destroyed and the Meridans submitted only to rebel on the withdrawal of the royal force. They continued to disturb the peace for a long time, until at last the Amīr himself marched and laid siege to the city. The miscreants were brought to submission and 7,000 rebels were killed but their leader Maḥmūd escaped to Saragossa, where he was killed by Alfonso II in 840 A. C.

Rebellion in Toledo: —Just after the restoration of peace at Merida, a serious rebellion broke out at Toledo in which the Christians, the neo-Muslims and the Jews took part. The leader of this rebellion was a neo-Muslim named Hāshim a black-smith, whose family had been treated cruelly at Cordova during the time of Ḥakam. After coming back to Toledo in 829 A. C. he plundered, in revenge, the house of the 'Arabs and Berbers, destroyed Cantabria and the fort of 'Amrūs and

1. *Cf.* Dom Bouquet's Collection, VI, p. 379 quoted by Reinaud (tr. H K. Sherwani), *Muslim Colonies*, pp. 113-114.

killed many guards. The frontier Governor Muḥammad ibn Wāsim sent a body of troops to quell the rebellion, but the royal force was repulsed and for a year Hāshim devastated the surrounding districts. As soon as reinforcements arrive Ibn Wāsim marched on Toledo in 831 A. C. Hāshim was defeated and killed and the rebels were dispersed although not crushed. An army was sent under Prince Umayyah to subdue Toledo in 834 A. C. but the attack was repulsed. As long as the Toledans held together 'Abd al-Raḥmān II could not capture the city, and at last it was stormed and taken by Prince Walīd bin Ḥakam on the 9th Rajab 222/16th June 837 A. C. A general amnesty was granted to all and after the expiry of eight years peace was established at Toledo. The fortress of 'Amrūs was rebuilt. The fact that the city situated almost in the heart of the country could resist repeated attacks for so long shows the weakness of the royal authority.

The Raids of the Christian Chiefs :—In the beginning of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's reign Alfonso II, the Chief of Leon, made an incursion into the districts of Madīnat al-Sālim (Medinaceli) and Aragon, and his example was followed by the other chiefs of the North. Count Borel of the Gothic March attacked Muslim territory. The Muslim force under 'Abd al-Karīm b. Mughīth and 'Ubayd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān I attacked Alava in 823 and 826 A. C. The Christians were throughly defeated and their towers and fortresses were razed to the ground and Leon itself was sacked. They submitted, released the Muslim prisoners, paid heavy fines and offered hostages for their future good behaviour. About this time Aizon a Gothic Lord allied himself with the Muslims against the King of Aquitaine, Pepin son of Louis

and the Umayyad, General, 'Ubayd Allah a relative of the Amīr, overran the territories around Barcelona and Garonne and advanced successfully up to the Cerdagne and the Val-Spir on the French side of the Pyrenees.[1]

The Muslims won temporary success in the Gothic March wich was destroyed. After 825 A. C. we do not hear of any serious trouble in the North. This truce between the Muslims and the Christians which lasted for about ten years, however, came to an end in 838 A. C when three successive Muslim forces marched to Asturias, Galicia, Alava and Castile. The Christians took possession of Pamplona, but they were defeated and the city was reoccupied by the Muslims in the same year. Barcelona and Galicia also fell into the Muslim hands. The Christians were driven out of the north-east of Spain. In 839 A. C. Louis attacked Medinaceli but was repulsed with heavy losses by Mūsā, the frontier Governor. The Muslim boats from the Spanish and African ports raided the Mediterranean coasts and the Spanish Muslim navy attacked the island of Oye in Brittany near the mouths of the Loire.[2] Maqqarī says that the Muslin army progressed as far as the lan of Britain.[3]

A great confusion followed on the death of Louis in 840. His sons, Pepin and Charles the Bald, fought for the possession of Languedoc. Taking advantage of the situation the Muslims penetrated Provence by way of the

1. H. K. Sherwani, *Muslim Colonies*, p. 115.
2. Cf. Dom Bouquet's Collection, Vol. VI, p. 308 quoted in *Muslim Colonies*, p. 116.
3. Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 161.

estuary of the Rhone and Musa the Governor of Tudela in Navarre overran Cerdagne and advanced into Central France by way of the Seines, the Loire, the Garonne and the Schelat.[1] The Muslim soldiers also marched from Urgal and Rivagorsa into France. The intermediary, William, Count of Toulouse, sought help from Cordova and captured Barcelona and some other Catalonian towns from the chiefs of Charles the Bald.[2]

In June 840 'Abd al-Raḥmān II himself led the expedition against Galicia. The following year his son Muṭarrif also marched against Galicia. Two other expeditions were sent in 846 A. C. against Ramiro, son and successor of Alfonso, of the Asturias.

Embassies from Constantinople and Navarre : - Like 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, Theophilus, son and successor of Michael, the Emperor of Constantinople, was not on friendly terms with al-Mu'taṣim of Baghdād. In 840 A. C. Theophilus sent an embassy with valuable presents to Cordova and sought the help of the Umayyads against the 'Abbāsids. But 'Abd al-Raḥmān II was engaged in quelling internal and frontier troubles and had no time and means to reoccupy his ancestral country. He, however, in return sent an embassy under Yaḥyā bin Ḥakam al-Ghazzāl (156/773-250/864) to Constantinople and established cultural and commercial contact with the Byzantines.[3]

The Count of Navarre, who was subservient to the emperor of France, declared his independence and in search of a

1. *Muslim Colonies*, p. 118
2. *Ibid.*, p., 120
3. *Cf.* Al-Ḍabbi, pp. 485-2no, no. 1467 : Gayangos II, pp. 114-5.

strong ally sent an embassy to Cordova. A treaty was concluded on condition that the Muslims would protect him from external aggression and the Navarrese in return would help them in crossing the Pyrenees to attack France. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II entered into the politics of the various Berber states occupying the region from Morocco to Tunisia.

The Norman Inroads :—The Normans (Majūs) a branch of the Germanic race had ben a terror to the maritime countries of Europe namely England and France for half a century. They came from Scandinavia and were highly experienced in navigation and lived on piracy. They appeared in Dhū'l-hijjah 229/August 844 in eight ships off the coast of Lusitania (modern Portugal) and plundered the coastal towns, Lisbon and Cadiz, and set sail towards Seville. They sacked the islands in the Guadalquivir and the city of Seville and killed a large number of people. For forty-two days they disturbed the peace of Seville and its neigbouring villages forcing the Muslims, Jews and Christians to evacuate the town. In Tablada, situated to the south of Seville and to the east of the Guadalquivir, the Muslims led by 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin Iskandarāni. 'Abd Allāh bin Kulayb and Muḥammad bin Rustam inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Normans, more than 1, 000 of whom were killed and 400 taken prisoners. They fled but reappeared when they sacked Algeciras and raided the coastal towns. Several engagements followed between the Normans and the Muslims. At first they were victorious and plundered the coastal towns but soon they were forced to flee from the country and to free Muslim prisoners on payment of ransom. The Amīr then turned his attention to the reorganisation of the Muslim navy which in course of time became efficient and well-organized. A ship-

yard was set up at Seville and coastal towns were fortified against further raids. A series of watch-towers were set up after 844 to guard the coastal area from the sea attack.

Th Christian Zealots of Cordova :—According to European authorities the reign of this ruler coincided with a recrudescence of the nationalist movement. Towards the close of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's reign (336-38/850-52) the fanatical section of the Cordovan Christians despised the Muslims and vilified their Prophet. The bulk of the Christian community and the Jews, who were the most enlightened section of the population in Spain, had no cause of complaint against the 'Arab règime. On the contrary, they had every reason to be satisfied with their lot. They enjoyed complete religious, social and economic freedom and were given key posts in the administration of the State. Educated and cultured Christians were sent on embassies to the courts of the kings of Europe. Rich 'Arab magnates employed talented Christian stewards in the management of their estates.

The imagery and eloquence of the Arabic language appealed to the Christians so much that they began to learn Arabic though they spoke a Roman dialect.[1] The Christians neglected and even expressed contempt for Latin texts. By 854 there was hardly one out of thousand men who could write in their own language intelligibly.[2] Dazzled by the glamour of 'Arab civilzation and conscious of their own inferiority in arts, philosophy and poetry, they began to ape 'Arab manners and customs even without embracing Islam.

1. *Cf.* Grunebaum, G. E. Von, ed, *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, Chicago, 1955, p. 207.

2, Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, p. 137 ; Watt, pp. 57, 72.

The Bible was translated into Arabic.[1] These enlightened Christians formed a distinct class in society and were called Mozarabs a term derived from the Arabic word *Musta'rib* in (Lat. *Muztarabes*). In the big cities like Cordova, Seville, Saragossa and Toledo[2] they lived cheek by jowl with the Arabs. This devotion to the Arabic language and imitation of 'Arab customs antagonized the Christian Zealots who still thought that the 'Arabs were usurpers and believed that they could drive them out of Spain by following an anti-Muslim policy. They did not co-operate with the 'Arabs and abused the Mozarabs whom they ridiculed as turncoats. The hatred of the Zealots for such Arabicised Christians, who besides their bourgeois avocations in the towns had whole villages to themselves in the country districts like the Serrania grew more and more and they kept on fanning the flame of discontent. They derived so much undue advantages from the freedom of expression that they entered mosques at prayer times and repeated their maledictions. The leaders of this section of the community were a priest, Eulogius and his wealthy friend Alvaro.

Eulogius wrote a letter to Flora, an issue from Muslim father and Christian mother, saying, "Holy sister Flora. The time you had shown me the stripes of whipping on your long neck, there was no long hairs covering your neck. At that time you had honoured me with this because you considered me holy as you were and I had placed my hand on your wounds. Oh had I an opportunity to cure

1. Hole (*Andalus*, p. 31) observes, "...the Mozarabe rite in the Arabic tongue is still read in certain Cathedral Chapels" of Spain.

2. The Mozarabs wrote Spanish in Arabic character in Ṭoledo even a century after its conquest by Alfonso VI in 1085 A. C,

your wounds with a kiss, I would have done it.''[1] It appears from this love letter that Eulogius was greatly impressed with the beauty of Flora. After meeting her he replenished the Zealot movement with fresh vigour. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II called a meeting of the ecclesiastics in his kingdom. His secretary Gomez, son of Antony, represented the Amīr. Reinaud says, in spite of the protests of certain overzealous priests, the bishops decided that it was as much against the spirit of the Bible to provoke the rage of the opponents of the Faith as it was virtuous to endure it when there was no provocation."[2] At the congress the bishops passed a decree prohibiting all public imprecations of the Prophet Muḥammad and adopted severe measures against the agitators. But nothing could subdue the ardour of those fanatics. They defied the authority of their bishops. The Christian priests of Cordova like Eulogius, and Perfectus and Flora a nun were so fanatically opposed to Islam that they openly cursed the Prophet Muḥammad. The offenders were brought to the qāḍī in court where they repeated their maledictions.

The vilification of the Prophet Muḥammad and of Islām by the Christians had great significance in the history of the Muslims in Spain. It demonstrated the uncompromising attitude of the Christians who were averse to Muslim rule and deprecated every thing Muslim. At first the vilifiers were ignored but as the frenzy of the agitators grew there was no alternative but to be ruthless. Several of the fanatics including Eulogius, Flora and Mary, sisters of Isaac, were imprisoned and eleven persons including

.1 *Cf.* Hole, p. 49.

2. H. K. Sherwani *Muslim colonies*. p. 123 ; *Cf.* Haines, C, R. *Christianity and Islam in Spain*, London 1889.

Bishop Perfectus, Isaac and Sancho, a Christian guard of the Royal Palace were killed in 850 A. C. A year later Flora was also executed. But the agitation continued even after 'Abd al-Raḥmān's death (852 A. C.). This practice was later sanctioned by the Church Council, which canonized many of the martyres. It is obvious that this burning hatred of the Christians for the Muslims was one of the causes of the final expulsion of the Muslims from Spain. As a result of this agitation a large number of the Mozarabs who were suspected of treachery due to the fault of their own co-religionists, accepted Islam with a view to avoid suspicion.[1] In the middle of the century the number of neo- Muslims increased considerably.

Death :—'Abd al-Raḥmān II died of fever in 852 A. C. He reigned for about 30 years. Before his death he had nominated his eldest son Muḥammad as his successor.

Achievements and Character :– By the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, the Umayyad Amirate was well established and there was sign of prosperity. In spite of internal and frontier troubles during the thirty years of his rule (822-52 A. D) 'Abd al-Raḥmān II contributed much towards the cultural development of Spain and made it one of the most civilized countries of the then world. The State administration was organised on the lines of the Abbasid system, the mint was re-established and an official seal-was introduced. Visiting his court, the Greek envoys appreciated greatly the beauty and the wealth of Cordova and its suburbs. For miles, the banks of the Guadalquivir were lined with beautiful buildings and gardens. Water

1. *Cf.* Levi-Provencal, L'*Espagne*, p, 34.

was brought in abundance to Cordova from the Sierra Morena through lead pipes and there were numerous public baths. Sanitation reached a high level.

No aspect of life was ignored by the Amīr. Reforms were introduced in dress and the mode of living. A State institution was established to organise the manufacture of *ṭirāz* (silk cloth embroidered with the name of the owners) for royal use. Drugs were imported from Baghdād and other Oriental cities for use in the newly constructed hospitals. Many Greek scientific and philosophical works were translated into Arabic and Arabic translations of Greek and Persian works were used in the newly opened medical schools. There grew wide spread enthusiasm for learning among the people. The legacy left by him was utilized by his descendants, especially 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, Ḥakam II and Hishām II and later also by many petty rulers.

During the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II the administrative machinery was reorganized and the *ministers* were given special powers. The Amīr was fortunate to have as ḥājib 'Abd al-Karim bin Mughīth, who had served Hishām as commander-in-chief and Ḥakam I as prime minister, and as *wazirs* 'Īsā bin Shahīd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Rustam, Yūsuf bin Bakht and Muḥammad bin Salām, who were known for their talents. Appointments to responsible posts were made by the Amīr himself. The khazzāns (treasurers) discharged their duties faithfully. Thus it is recorded that once Judayr, the Shaykh al-khazzān, refused to carry out a royal order asking him to give 30,000 dīnārs from the public treasury to the musician Ziryāb, as reward for a song he had sung. Therefore the Amīr had finally to give the musician this amount from his privy

purse.[1] On account of good administration the revenue increased, according to Ibn Sa'īd, from six hundred thousand to one million dīnārs.[2] The mint at Cordova was re-established and the quality of the coinage was improved. As far as military organization was concerned the Amīr followed the policy of his father and the command of the army was held chiefly by Prince Muḥammad and Ḥājib 'Abd al-Karim. 'Abd al-Raḥmān increased the strength of the bodyguard formed by his father and improved its equipment. The frontier province enjoyed more independence during his time than before. His reign was a stormy one. But he dealt with all the rebels firmly and left a large kingdom to his successor.

The Amīr had a liking for art and aesthetics and was a keen builder. In different parts of his kingdom he built palaces and on the banks of the Guadalquivir he laid out spacious and beautiful gardens. He made arrangements for the supply of water to the city of Cordova, and added to the beauty of the city by erecting fountains and constructing marble laid paths. New roads were built and old ones were repaired and, in general, communications with the remote provinces of the kingdom were improved. Mosques were built in the principal cities of his dominion. Beautiful jāmi' masjids (mosques for congregational prayers) were constructed at Jaen and Seville. He also began the constrnction of two additional porches in the Grand Mosque of Cordova, which were completed by his son and successor Muḥammad I. This addition which increased the number of the rows of columns in the hall from eight to fifteen, was made on the sou hern

1. *Iftitāḥ al-Undalus*, pp. 68-69.
2. Al-Maqqarī, II, p. 124,

side facing the *qiblah* by constructing a new *miḥrāb* in 218/833 and a *maqṣūrah* in 234/848. The Amīr reconstructed frontier towns which had been destroyed by flood in 212/827-8. The coastal towns were fortified and coast-guards were posted. To which the movements of enemies in the Atlantic Ocean and to guide the ships watch-towers were constructed along the coast and to build ocean-going ships a ship-yard was set up at Seville. In the same year, when a severe famine broke out, the customary taxes were remitted, public granaries and magazines were opened and food was distributed to the helpless and the destitute.

'Abd al-Raḥmān was not only a lover of art and architecture but also a patron of science and literature. He admired the works on Greek philosophy and his agents travelled through the Eastern towns to collect new and rare books. To buy Arabic translations of Persian and Greek works on science, 'Abbās ibn Nāṣiḥ ransacked the book shops of Mesopotamia.[1] The Umayyad library of Cordova became one of the best libraries of the Muslim world during his reign. The collection of poems composed by Ḥabīb b. Aws was brought to Spaiu by Ibn al-Muthannā (d. 273/886-7) tutor of the Amīr and also his two sons Muḥammad and 'Umar. In Cordova an Arabic school of translation was started by the Amīr and many Greek scientific and philosophical works were translated into Arabic while others were imported from the East. Agents were also sent all over the East to collect plants and animals for his botanical and zoological gardens. In every important town, schools were set up and charitable institutions were maintained by the government for the destitutes.

1. *Cf.* Levi-Provencal, *La civilizacion Arabe en Espana*, pp, 64, 85

The Amir introduced new regulations respecting court ritual and Perso-'Arab manners and customs, food and clothes. The court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II was famous for its pomp and grandeur. Dozy remarks, "Never had the court of the Sultans of Spain been so brilliant as it became under the rule of Abdur Raḥmān II."[1] His love of pomp and luxury brought about great changes in the social and political affairs of the court at Cordova. The Umayyads took three quarters of a century to re-establish themselves in Spain and re-organise their administrative machinery. It was 'Abd al-Raḥmān II who organized the royal household and introduced customs of pomp and outward display in imitation of the luxurious living of the Abbasids in the East whom he wanted to outdo and outshine.

Learned men and famous artists flocked to his court. The Amīr was very fond of music and chess which were also the favourite pastimes of the Abbasids. Love of music, the national characteristic of the Spanish 'Arabs, began to develop at this time among all classes of the people. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II was generous in bestowing lavish gifts on the poets, musicians and artists of his court. He had in his *ḥaram*, besides the famous Ṭarūb, three favourite Madinite ladies, Faḍal, a musician and poetess who had been educated at the court of Hārūn and a companion of Hārūn's daughter, a Navarrese purchased from the market of Madīnah and another equally beautiful and cultured woman. 'Abd al-Raḥmān favoured eastern manners and customs introduced by Ziryāb. Rich tapestries and other valuable articles were also imported from the East. Textile industries were patronized and clothes adorned with embroidery and trimming work.

1. *Spanish Islam*, p. 260.

The Amīr himself was a poet of high merit and heard poems composed by his court poets like 'Ubayd Allāh b. Qarlmān b. Badr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shimr. Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed al-Ghazzāl (d. 864 A. D.), was a distinguished poet of his court. He composed inspiring verses in the spiritual and satirical veins. Daily contact with the Christians and Jews, Spanish artisans and merchants and possession of Christian wives and slaves brought about a change in the oriental manners, customs and languages of the Muslims settled in Spain and Romance the native dialect became their second language.[1] The Andalusian climate mellowed the descendants of the 'Arab and Berber horsemen in due course of time and the constant breeding with women of Berber and Spanish stock produced Spanish 'Arabs of mixed blood, ginger-hair and blue eyes.

1. Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne*, p. 19.

CHAPTER VII

MUḤAMMAD I (852-886 A. C.)

Succession :— Muḥammad I was proclaimed Amīr at Cordova in 238/852. His reign was marked by a series of domestic troubles which, in spite of his firm policy, continued to increase.

Rebellions in Toledo :—Just after his accession the people of Toledo rebelled and devastated the country up to the Sierra Morena. The discontented neo-Muslims joined hands with the rebel Christians. Muḥammad I marched towards Toledo in June 854 A. C. When the rebels heard of the approach of the King, their ringleader Sindola sought the help of Ordoño I, the King of Leon, who despatched an army under Gaton, Count of Bierzo. The Amīr being doubtful of success decided to keep a part of his army in reserve and at the crucial moment he threw in this reserve, encircling and annihilating the rebels at Guadacelete (Ar. *Wādī Salīt*, Sp. *Guazalete*). About 8,000 Christians were killed. A younger son of the Amīr, al-Mundhir, remained at Toledo to restore peace with the help of the Governor of Calatrava and Talavera. The Governor of Toledo and other officers, who had taken part in the rebellion, were punished. Mundhir re-organised the Government and appointed capable men to carry on the administration of Toledo granting them a form of republican status.

Christian Zealots in Cordova :—The Amīr adopted drastic measures against the Christian Zealots of Cordova. Their

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lands were farmed out and their monastery of Tabaños, the hot-bed of fanaticism, was demolished. The Zealots of Cordova, who had started a movement against the Arabicisation of the Christians, as referred to above, had been punished but not crushed by the mild 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. After the execution of Flora, their bitterness against the Muslims became even more intense. Eulogius, who was still alive, was elected Metropolitan by his Christian Zealot followers. These Christians sent secret letters to the French King, Charles the Bald, and invited him to attack Spain and drive the Muslims out. Two French monks Usuard and Odilard, who visited Cordova in 858 A. C. on the pretext of locating and tracing Christian relics, submitted reports to the French King about the dissatisfaction of the Christians of Cordova. The Christian Zealots instigated the people of the capital to rebel. Muḥammad I had to take drastic measures against them and the Christian rising was crushed. The Zealot leaders Eulogius, Alvaro and Leocritia (a zealous convert from Islam) were hanged in March 859.

Wars in Galicia and Navarre :—In the meantime the Franks, who were on friendly terms with 'Abd al-Raḥmān II in 847 A. C.[1], took advantage of the internal disorders in Spain to invade the country causing destruction. The Galicians and the Navarrese followed suit. Muḥammad ordered the Governors of Merida and Saragossa to collect their forces and march to the frontier. At this time the Ḥanbalis and Mālikis, the two Sunnī sects, were fighting among themselves in Spain. Muḥammad himself intervened in the riots of the two sects and succeeded in uniting the contending factions

1. E. G. Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, IV, p. 142 and n24.

against the Christians. At regular intervals expeditions were. sent against the Christians of Galicia, Leon and Navarre.

The Gothic March once more became the field of war and Navarre, the land of the Basques, was overrun in 861 A. C. and its capital Pamplona with its environments fell into the Muslim hands again. The Christians retired to their fortresses but came out again and again causing great havoc among the Muslims of Northern Spain. They plundered many towns and burnt some of them. Lusitania and Leutra were badly ruined. The Amīr at the head of the cavalry of Cordova marched to Galicia. The army of Merida also joined him. In 865 A. C. the Chrisitian ruler of Leon surrendered unconditionally and peace was granted to him. In the following year peace-treaty was also concluded between Maḥammad I and Charles the Bald, who was given back Catalonia on condition that he would not lend any help to the rebels.

The Banū Qasī declare their Independence :—Towards the end of the 9th century there appeared a number of ambitious persons to play with the discontent of the neo-Muslims, Berbers and Christians and utilise it in creating independent or semi-independent principalities. War continued in Catalonia and Musa, who had been victorious in the previous years, was now pressed hard by the Asturians. He earned the wrath of the Amir. He, therefore, allied himself with the Asturian king and gave his daughter in marriage to Garcia, Count of Navarre.

In Aragon, the North March of the 'Arabs, the Banī Qasī, an old Visigothic family, founded an independent state with Saragossa as its capital. The founder of this dynasty was one Zayyād, a descendant of the Visigothic nobility. Formerly he was the governor of Saragossa. He rebelled, joined the insurgents and occupied Saragossa in

842 and resisted a series of attacks by the royal troops. The chiefs of Tudela, Huesca and Toledo submitted to the Banī Qasī ruler, Mūsā ibn Mūsā ibn al-Qasi known as Mūsā II, who resisted the royal authority as long as he lived and established himself firmly in the Upper March with Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca as the chief cities. The dissatisfied people of the northern frontier flocked to him in thousands. He also received the support of the Gascons and the Navarrese. Ibn Qasi had blood and marriage relations with the Christians of Navarre and Pamplona and Musa II helped the Christian dynasty in establishing herself in that region.

He now turned his arms against the Counts of Barcelona and Castile, and crossing the Pyrenees he compelled Charles the Bald to conclude peace with him and to pay a huge sum of money as tribute. His independence was recognised alike by the Christians and Muslims of France and Spain respectively. He declared himself as the third King of Spain.[1] His son Lope was a commandant at Toledo After Mūsā's death in 862 A. C. Muḥammad I captured Saragossa and Tudela. Ten years later three of Mūsā's sons tried to revive the prestige of their father and once again expelled the royal troops and declared their independence. With the help of Alfonso III of Leon they frustrated the attempt of the Amīr to capture Saragossa in 834 and remaind independent. In the same region the Tujubids of Arab origin also created trouble and demanded independence.

Ibn Marwān declares his Independence :— About 868 A. C. following the example of the people of Saragossa, the Meridans rebelled under the leadership of a neo-Muslim,

1. *Cf.* Pareja, *Islamologia*, I, p. 167.

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Marwān bin Yūnus al-Jilliqī. His father Marwān b. Yūnus was the governor of Merida during the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān II. On the approach of the royal force, the Meridans, however, submitted and their leader was appointed captain of his bodyguard by the Amīr. But in 875 A. C. on being insulted by Prime minister, Hāshim bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, he fled to Alanje 20 kilometres (12½) miles) south-east of Merida, and then to Badajoz in the valley of the Guadiana which he fortified. He joined another rebel, Sa'dūn al-Surunbaki, collected a large force of the neo-Muslims of Merida and other places and spread terror far and wide. With the help of Alfonso III of Leon he defeated the royal force sent against him under the command of Hāshim. The Umayyad General was defeated, made a prisoner and sent to the Leonese king, who released him after two years on receiving a part of the ransom of 100,000 dīnārs. Meanwhile Ibn Marwān laid waste the districts of Seville and Niebla. Royal forces were sent against him again and again but could not suppress him, In order to restore peace in this region the Amīr had to accept his rule in Badajoz and Merida, which were not finally recovered by 'Abd al-Rahmān III till 930. Thus Ibn Jilliqi the muwallad and his sons ruled over the Lower March with Merida as its headquarter for about fifty-five years.

Norman Raids :—About 859 A. C. the Normans appeared for the second time on the coasts of Spain with seventy ships and devastated Malaga and other coastal towns. But they could not do much harm this time. As the coastal towns had been, in the interval between the first period of depredation and the second, fortified by 'Abd al-Rahmān II and fleet was well organised, the Normans were easily repulsed.

In order to lead expeditions against Galicia, military service was made obligatory for the people of Cordova[1] and with a view to attacking Galicia from the Atlantic coast which was not well protected a fleet of boats was built in the upper Guadalquivir. This fleet sailed down the river under the command of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Mughīth ; but as it reached the Atlantic Ocean it was dispersed completely by a storm and not more than two could get together and very few of them returned safely. This failure, however, did not deter the Muslims from attacking Galicia successfully by sea later in the tenth century.

ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn :—It was in Muḥammad's reign that a dangerous rebellion of ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn broke out in the south-east of Andalucia. ʿUmar had full control over the mountainous country between Ronda and Malaga and except for a brief period of truce, he continued the struggle with three Amīrs and a Khalīfah of Cordova. He was born at Ḥiṣn Ante (Iznate) near Ronda in 860 A. C. His father was a Visigothic landlord named Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. Jʿafar al-Islāmī living in the north-east of Malaga. During the reign of al-Ḥakam, Ḥafṣ left Ronda and settled in a village near Iznate in Ronda to the north-east of Malaga where he renounced Christianity and accepted Islām. He soon amassed wealth by trading and became known as Ḥafṣūn. His son ʿUmar was a man of bad temper and accepted the career of a robber.

ʿUmar once killed a local officer and escaped with his father to the Serrania de Ronda at the foot of Mount Bobastro and refused to give up his bad ways of living. His father,

1. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, pp. 111-12.

therefore, would not give him further protection against the warrant issued by the Governor of the province so 'Umar escaped to North Africa and took refuge at Ṭāhirāt (Tahort) in the house of a tailor, who knew his father but was not aware of 'Umar's character. There he was recognised by one of his neighbours, who advised him to sail for Spain in order to lead the Andalusians against the 'Arabs. Fearing that he might be handed over to Muḥammad I by the Umayyad client, Prince of Ṭāhirāt, he fled from Africa and returned to Spain in 880 A. C. With the help of his uncle Muzabir he raised a gang of forty robbers and began to live in an old Roman castle situated on the Mount Bobastro which is known as *el Castillon* and with the support of the monntaineers of Elvira he became the leader of both Mozarabs and neo-Muslims whose fusion enabled him to hold out for long against three Amirs, Muḥammad I, al-Mundhir and 'Abd Allāh, and one Khalīfah to be 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Ibn Ḥafṣūn cared little for any principle to stand in his way to rise. The royal forces, sent against him by Muḥammad I, were twice defeated. It was Muḥammad's Prime Minister Hāshim, who finally defeated and compelled 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn to submit. Being pleased with his bravery the Prime Minister appointed him a military officer in 883 A. C. In several battles specially at Poncervo he showed his military skill and 'fought bravely against the rebel chief of the Banī Qasī named Muḥmmad son of Lope and the Asturians.

However, 'Umar was faced with the fact that the Chief Minister's rival, Walīd ibn Ghanīm, the Perfect of the city disliked him and that he was consequently supplied with grain of poor quality as his troops' ration, and that he was insulted by the Prefect. He complained against Ibn Ghanīm to Hāshim

in vain, so in anger he left the army of Muḥammad I in 884 A. C. and threw in his lot with the gang of robbers on Mount Bobastro ejecting the commander. There he established his headquarters, took up arms against Muḥammad's rule and declared that he wanted to avenge the wrongs of the distressed and relieve the neo-Muslims of the servitude of the 'Arabs. Fortune-seekers came and joined him in numbers and established a sort of principality in the hilly tracts where he maintained peace and tranquillity [1] but killed and plundered both Muslims and non-Muslims of the neighbouring districts of Jaen and the Iznajar. The Amīr sent his troops under Zayd ibn Qāsim to chastise the rebel. 'Umar did not dare face the royal army and applied for amnesty. He was pardoned but he proved treacherous and attacked the Muslim army at night killing Zayd ibn Qāsim. Muḥammad I became furious when he heard this, and in June 886 ordered al-Mundhir to teach 'Umar a lesson. The governors of Cordova and Seville were also ordered to help the Prince against the rebel.

Another rebel 'Abd al-Malik, who was a chief of the Alhama fort and an ally of 'Umar, faced the royal army and fought vigorously but was killed. His head was sent to the Amīr at Cordova. 'Umar, who had come to his rescue, was severely wounded but escaped. Fortunately for 'Umar, Mundhir raised the siege and returned hearing the news of his father's death.

Death :— After a reign of 34 years Amīr Muḥammad I died on the 29th Ṣafar 273 (the 4th August 886) at the age of 65 years. He nominated his eldest son Mundhir as his successor.

Achievements and Character :—Muḥammad I was just and brave but narrow-minded and selfish. He reduced the salary of

1. Cf. Hole, *Andalus*, p. 161.

the officials and soldiers, dismissed his old ministers and appointed in their places young and inexperienced men on lesser salaries. He also dismissed many Christian officials and soldiers. Gomez, who was a tolerant and enlightened Christian, was appointed as his secretary in 852 A. C. The Amīr himself looked into all financial matters which antagonised the corrupt officials.

Once a treasurer made a mistake of fifteen dirhams in keeping the account of a sum of one hundred thousand dīnār drāhim and fifteen dirhams. The King detected this and returned the account book for correction but the secretaries and treasurers could not trace the mistake and so the King himself had to point it out at last.[1] He was, therefore, hated by his officials but loved by the fuqahā who appreciated his justice and enthusiasm for crushing the power of the Christian Zealots.

He was not only a poet, a writer and an orator but also a patron of learned men. He sought the advice of the Chief Qāḍī of the Cordova Mosque in all his State affairs. As a free thinker he encouraged Bāqī ibn Makhlad (d. 276/889), who had been trained in the East and had made a critical study of the ḥadith. Bāqī was the most notable of those who held Shāfi'ite views in al-Andalus and lectured on the doctrines of the great theologian Ibn Abī Shaybah against the will of the Malikites and other Spanish legists who were staunch followers of the ḥadīth.[2] Bāqī was interested in the speculative aspects of jurisprudence deriving legal prescriptions from traditions which he taugt at Cordova The works of Al-Jāhiz (d. 868) a great prominent figure of the Mutazilites a sect of semi-

1. Ibn-al-Khaṭib, *A'mal*, p. 24,. Dozy, *Spanish, Islam*, p, 299.
2, Al-Maqqari, II,P, 128 ; E. G, Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, IV, p,188

philosophical theologians were brought to Spain during his time by 'Uthmān ibn al-Muthannā and Faraj ibn Sallama. Al-'Utbī (d. 869) wrote an important work as a supplementary to the early works of codification of the Malikite rite.[1] Yūnus al-Harrānī, a great physician of the East, settled in Spain during the time of Muḥammad I and established a family of physicians to shine later specially in the Khilāfat period.

Like his father, as Muḥammad was a lover of beauty he embellished the capital by building beautiful edifices and magnificent monuments. A statue made of gold weighing 300 pounds and decorated with precious stones and a seat which cost double the price of the statue was wrought and presented to a golden church of the Christians at the order of Muḥammad I[2]. During his time the work of the extension of the Cordova Mosque and the construction of a maqṣūrah for the personal use of the Amīr which had been started by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II were completed. The bishop Hostegesis was ordered to prepare a complete descriptive list of land-tax and jizyah payers and annual visits were made to see that the taxes were properly gathered.[3] Muḥammad I granted special power to his *Muḥtasib* Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn b. 'Āṣim, at the time of a severe famine to inflict punishments leading to cutting off hands and even heads of the offenders.[4] Necessary relief measures were adopted when a severe famine broke out in 260/873 and a dreadful earthquake shook the country in 267/880.

1. Ibn al-Faraḍī nos. 889 and 1036.
2. Ibn al-Khaṭib, A'mal, p. 25.
3. *Contribuciones*, pp. 96-104.
4. Aljoxani, pp. 178-9/220-2 tr

CHAPTER VIII

MUNDHIR AND 'ABD ALLĀH

I—MUNDHIR (886-888 A. C.)

In 273/886 Mundhir succeeded his father and ascended the throne of Cordova. He had proved his generalship and strategy during his father's time in several battles but the kingdom, which he had inherited from father, was not easy to administer.

A large portion of the Spanish people were disloyal and always ready to rebel against the Amīr of Cordova. Some independent principalities had also been carved out. The Franks had established themselves in the Gothic March and the greater part of Leon, Aragon and Catalonia was in the hands of the Christians. The commandants of the northern forts were in league with the enemies of the Amīr. In the south Ibn Ḥafṣūn had remained unsubdued and was still ruling independently over a vast territory. Al-Mundhir marched first against the rebel 'Ayshūn, a neo-Muslim chief of Archidona and an ally of 'Umar, captured and killed him. Next, having punished the Banī Maṭrūḥ of the Sierra de Priego, he proceeded, in the spring of 888 A. C. to lay siege on Bobastro the stronghold of 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn. Finding himself completely surrounded and having no hope of deliverance, the rebel feigned loyalty by submission and payment of tribute. But soon 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn proved treacherous and rebelled again; he intercepted and killed a part of the royal force on their way to the capital. Mundhir,

therefore, took the field once more and laid siege to Bobastro but he was poisoned by his physician at the instigation of his brother 'Abd Allāh and died after a short but successful reign of about two years.

II-ABD ALLĀH (888-912 A. C.)

Succession :- Al-Mundhir had no son. After his death his treacherous brother 'Abd Allāh ascended the throne at a very critical moment in Spanish history. He found himself opposed not only by the native Spaniards but also by the 'Arab aristocrats, who attempted to declare their independence by taking advantage of the general disorder. Insurrections and revolts broke out in every quarter. There was rioting between the 'Arabs and the neo-Muslims in the districts of Seville and Elvira. The Yamanites and Mudarites were still engaged in their old tribal feud. The Syrians and the Ḥijāzians were also at each other's throat. A multitude of races and peoples, 'Arabs, neo-Muslims, Christians and Berbers, inhabited the country and all these different elements were always ready to rise against the Cordovan king. Only a strong Amīr could keep them under control but 'Abd Allāh being weak and timid was evidently incapable of doing this.

Rising of the Spaniards in Elvira :—By this time the country was developed industrially and commercially and a middlle class had grown up out of the neo-Muslims especially in Elvira and Seville. The 'Arab aristocracy dispised them and envied their wealths and many 'Arab chiefs refused obedience the Amīr too. Besides the Arabs, Berbers and neo-Muslims there were Christians and Jews. It was difficult to to maintain effective rule with all these diverse and disaffected elements. There were, therefore, revolts and risings of one or the other or two joined together. At the beginning of

'Abd Allāh's reign, the Spaniards rose against the 'Arab nobles and taking advantage of the disagreement between the 'Arabs and the Amīr turned them out of Elvira.

The 'Arabs under Yaḥyā ibn Suqālah fortified themselves in the north-east of Granada at Montejicar near Guardahortuna but their leader Yaḥya was defeated and killed by the Spaniards in 889 A. C. The 'Arabs (Yamanites and Mudarites) chose as their new leader, Sāwwar, the Qaysite of Maracena north of Granada. Sāwwar's eldest son lost his life in the defence of Monte Sacro, which fell into the hands of the Spaniards. But soon afterwards he recaptured Monte Sacro and put the garrison, 6,000 in number, to the sword. The Spaniards with royal support fought bravely under the leadership of Ja'd the Governor of Elvira, but were defeated heavily. Sāwwar concluded treaties with the 'Arabs of Regio, Jaen and Calatrava and rebuilt the half-ruined fortresses.

The Spaniards found their enemies united against them and sought the help of 'Abd Allāh, who purchased their protection by granting Sāwwar a share in the government of Elvira. But enmity between Sāwwar and 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn soon blazed afresh. Sāwwar was defeated and had to take shelter in the ruined fort of al-Hamah. The Spaniards, 20,000 strong, came to attack him but were repulsed and twelve thousand of them were killed. The defeated Spaniards gathered round the banner of 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, who reorganised the militia Elvira and attacked Sāwwar only to be heavily defeated and obliged to return to Bobastro. He took the gallant 'Arab poet Sa'īd ibn Jūdī as his prisoner. Ḥafṣ ibn al-Marra was left behind as lieutenant at Elvira the inhabitants of which killed Sāwwar in an ambuscade. The 'Arabs now

elected as their leader Sa'īd ibn Jūdi, lately released by 'Umar, who dreaded his former prisoner and was shortly after defeated by him in single combat but the 'Arabs under Ibn Jūdī failed to gain any further success over the Spaniards.

In 893 A. C. when Elvira was attacked and occupied by Prince Muṭarrif, he found the 'Arabs of the province divided into two groups one led by Sa'īd ibn Jūdī, the other by Muḥammad ibn Adhā al-Hamadānī[1] of Alhama (Noalejo north of Granada). The former was killed in Dec. 897 by Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān, the 'Arab chief allied with Ibn 'Adhā of Alhama. The latter submitted to the authority of Cordova. The Amīr exacted tributes from others as well and did not capture their towns and strongholds because of inadequate resources for their maintenance.

Rising of the 'Arabs in Seville :—In Seville so close to the Umayyad capital itself trouble arose between two Arab families and the muwallads and the former got the upper-hand and later rivalries broke out between the two 'Arab families themselves. 'Abd Allah had to recognise the rule of one of the two who ultimately succeeded in establishing her semi-independent principality in Seville. The town of Seville and its districts were held respectively by a Spanish party Bani-Angelino and the hostile 'Arab families—the Banī Ḥajjāj and the Banī Khaldūn. The Banī Ḥajjāj were the descendants of the four sons of 'Umayr, a Yamanite of the Lakhmī tribe, and Sārah grand-daughter of Witiza and held extensive fiefs in the Sened, a district between Seville and Niebla. The Banī Khaldūn, who were also of Yamanite origin but who belonged to a tribe of Ḥaḍramawt, had their

1. *Cf.* Dozy *Spanish Islam*, p. 369.

estates in the Axarafe. The Banī Ḥajjāj and Banī Khaldūn were agriculturists and traders. They had their castles in the countryside and mansions in the cities. In the earlier part of 'Abd Allah's reign the chief of the Banī Khaldūn was Qurayb a great soldier. As a sworn enemy of the monarchy, Qurayb formed a league with the Banī Ḥajjāj, led by Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, the Yamanite chief of Niebla and sidoña and the Berber chief of Carmona against 'Abd Allāh. He instigated the Berbers of Merida and Medellin to plunder the neo-Muslims of Seville where the Amīr's authority was on the decline. When they occupied Talyata, governor of Seville marched to punish the Berbers of Merida in 891 A. C. Qurayb had also joined the governor's force but only to deceive him as had been pre-arranged between him and the Berbers. The governor was defeated and the Berbers of Merida collecting a large booty returned to Talyata. Ibn Marwān a neo-Muslim chief of Badajoz also pillaged the district.

The inefficient governor was deposed but his successor Umayyah b. al Ghafīr al-Khālid also failed in suppressing the daring marauders He empowered Muḥammad ibn Ghālib a neo-Muslim, to construct a fortress near the village of *Siete Torres* on the border of Seville and Ecija on condition that he should keep the marauders under control. The long desired peace was restored, but only temporarily. One night a person of the Banī Khaldūn was killed by Ibn Ghālib. The Banī Khaldūn made a complaint against him to the Amīr whose son Prince Muḥammad, however, delayed in deciding the case. Thereupon Qurayb collected the Lakhmites of the Sened, the Hadramites of the Axarafe, and the Banī Ḥajjāj of Seville under their chief 'Abd Allāh and then

marched against Coria and Carmona which were captured. Umayyah, the governor of Seville who organised the defence against Qurayb, escaped.

In order to satisfy and conciliate the 'Arabs, the Amīr sent his client Ja'd the governor of Elvira who had been lately released by Sāwwar. to punish Ibn Ghālib. But Ibn Ghālib learnt all about it and attacked the palace marching to the rescue of his brother Umayyah and Prince Muḥammad. The mob was attacked, killed and dispersed. 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, who was in alliance with Ibn Ghālib as well as with the Amīr, demanded the head of Ja'd who had killed Ibn Ghālib, Being suspicious of his safety at the court, Ja'd fled with his two brothers Hāshim and 'Abd al-Ghafir but was killed near the fort of *Siete Filla* by Ibn Ghālib's brothers. To avenge his brother's death, therefore, Umayyah ordered the Banī Khaldūn and Banī Ḥajjāj to exterminate the Spaniards. Twenty thousand people were killed and a large number of them drowned in the river when they tried to escape.

After the destruction of the Spaniards of Seville. the Banī Khaldūn and the Banī Ḥajjāj had become masters of the province [1]. On behalf of the helpless Amīr the governor Umayyah tried but failed to sow the seeds of discord between Qurayb and his party ; nor did he succeed in re-establishing the Amīr's authority after exterminating the Yamanites. He seized seditious Yamanite chiefs but was attacked and killed by 'Arab chiefs. The latter wrote to the Amīr that they had killed the governor because he was intending to rebel.

The helpless Amīr knew the facts but could do nothing and had to send another governor with his own uncle Hishām.

1. C. E. G. Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, p. 232.

He also failed to curb the power of the Yamanites. Hishām's son Muṭarrif was killed by Mahdī, a cousin of Qurayb. The governor wrote to the Amīr for an additional force in order to punish Mahdī and the Banū Khaldūn. The latter was intercepted by the Banī Khaldūn and the governor was put into prison. Such was the condition of Seville in 891 A. C. In Seville the 'Arabs were powerful and in other places the African and Spanish chiefs. The Berbers were in possession of fortresses in Jaen and in Elvira. The neo-Muslims were powerful at Silves and Santa Maria in the province of Oksonoba (Algarve), Beja, Mertola and in the mountains of Priego.

In 895 A. C. Prince Muṭarrif, son of 'Abd Allāh,[1] made attempts to capture Seville. Qurayb resisted Muṭarrif's attacks successfully and the two chiefs Qurayb and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj divided the province equally between themselves. But soon they fell out and Qurayb was killed in 899 A. C. Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj then submitted to the Amīr on condition that he would be appointed governor of Seville with Qāsim. The latter was expelled after a few months. Then allying himself with 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn in 900 A. C. Ibrāhīm maintained order with a strong hand. He was surrounded by learned men and poets including the witty poetess and musician Qamar. Poets of Cordova including the poet laureate Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (860-940 A. C.) flocked to his court.[2]

The 'Arab, neo-Muslim and also Berber chiefs had thus reverted to a system of tribal government. Mentesa, Medina Sidoña, Lorca and Saragossa were held by 'Arab chiefs.

1. *Cf.* E. G. Gomez, *Historia de Espana*, p. 232.

2. Huart, *Arabic literature*, p. 215; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 364.

Algrave, Beja, Jaen, Murcia and a few other places were occupied by the Berbers and the neo-Muslims. The growing influence of the nobles and vassals of the Cordovan Amīr contributed largely to the break-up of the authority of 'Abd Allāh. In the south-west of Galicia 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān al-Jilliqī, a neo-Muslim chief, founded an independent principality and with the help of Alfonso III of Leon spread terror far and wide. In 901 a man with the support of the Berber malcontent claimed to be the Mahdi, a divinely guided imām, and led them against Zamora but he was defeated by the Leonese King and the movement died out.[1] The Christian chiefs had been enjoying political freedom in the forest of Asturias since the beginning of the Muslim conquest of Spain. Some of them paid voluntary tributes to the Cordovan Amīr.

War with 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn—But the most formidable of all the rebels was 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn as mentioned above. He took advantage of the chaotic condition of the country and extended his authority in every direction. In a campaign lasting forty days against him in the spring of 889 A. C. 'Abd Allāh captured only a few villages and returned to the capital with great difficulty. The Amīr marched again with an army against 'Umar and concluded peace on the term that he would continue to rule over the country, which was in his possession, as a sort of resident representing the Amīr's authority. But 'Umar's supporters, who were free-booters, did not like peace, attacked 'Abd Allāhs adherent Abū Ḥarb, the Berber chief of Algeciras, and captured the fortress. Hard pressed as he was 'Abd Allāh sought 'Umar's help against the 'Arab chiefs. 'Umar joined the royal force led by Ibrāhīm but only

1. Watt, p, 44.

to conspire with Ibn Mastānah of Jaen, to strengthen his power and then ultimately to put Ibn Khamīr and other royal officers into prison. Supported by the Christians of Cordova 'Umar extended his influence northwards so that the capital itself was threatened. In one of the forays Count Servando lost his life and 'Umar occupied Ecija and Polei. Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who had occupied leadership of those Spaniards who being involved in fighting against the Arabs of this region had gone over to him. To establish his authority among the 'Arabs also in 890 ten years after establishing himself at Bobastro he sought investiture from the 'Abbasid Khalīfah Mu'taḍid Billāh through the 'Abbasid Governor Ibn Aghlab of North Africa. The length of his insurrection was a clear indication of the comparative weakness of the Umayyad central authority.

The Battle of Polei:—The position of 'Abd Allāh became very precarious. The treasury was empty and the soldiers could not be paid. The Amīr failed in his temporising policy of reconciliation and his offer of peace on favourable terms was rejected by the proud 'Umar. Havihg no other recourse left, the Amīr summoned up courage and resolved to attack the formidable enemy. His commander-in-chief 'Abd al-Malik b. Umayyah with 4,000 regular troops and a newly raised army of 10,000 marched towards Polei. 'Umar lay encamped on the bank of the stream, half a league from the fort, with a superior force numbering 30,000. The battle took place on Friday, April 16, 891. 'Abd Allāh did not participate in the battle even though the fate of the Umayyads was at stake. However, his soldiers fought desperately and for all his efforts 'Umar was defeated. He took refuge along with some of his men in the fort of Polei, while others fled

towards Ecija being hotly pursued by the 'Arabs. Foreseeing danger Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Ibn Mastānah vacated Polei and Archidona and retreated to Cabra. 'Abd Allāh seized the fortress of Polei with its immense treasure and war materials and laid sieg to Ecija, which fell easily. Then he marched towards Bobastro, which was besieged but remained unconquered. The tired soldiers returned to Cordova through Archidona and Elvira receiving on their way the submission of Jaen. Thus authority of the Amīr was established temporarily in the south.

Subsequent Events :—'Umar, in the meantime, lost much of his prestige. His ambassadors were received coldly by Ibn Aghlab in North Africa. He did not receive any letter of appointment as governor from the 'Abbasid Khalīfah. So Ibn Ḥafṣūn concluded a treaty with the Amīr and gave his adopted son as a hostage. When Amīr 'Abd Allāh demanded one of his own sons as a hostage, he refused and the fighting began. 'Umar raised a new army and soon after, in 892 A. C., he regained all his lost territories including Polei, Ecija, Archidona and Elvira and turned his arms against the 'Arab leader Sa'īd ibn Jūdī of Elvira which he captured. Next he occupied Jaen.

Being proud of his power and success 'Umar with all the members of his family embraced Christianity in 899 A. C. as will be described later more in detail. This was the turn of the tide and his star began to decline. Hole says, "His motives are obscure : he gained nothing by doing so." [1] Soon after his apostasy one of his important officers, Yaḥyā son of Anatole, deserted him and 'Awsaja b. al-Khāli' the Berber chief of Cañete (the present Cañete la Real), one of his

1. *Cf. Andalus ; Spain under the Muslims*, p. 163.

strongest allies, submitted to 'Abd Allāh.[1] Being tired of anarchy and civil war, people began to submit to 'Abd Allāh in the hope of the establishment of peace. It was, however, not easy for the Amīr to deal with 'Umar who, in order to regain the confidence of the 'Arabs, had allied himself with Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj. He, therefore, concluded peace in 901 A. C. with 'Umar who had to send four hostages including Ibn Mastānah the chief of Priego and his paymaster Khalaf to the court of the Amīr.

Ibn Ḥajjāj, in spite of sending his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān as a hostage to Cordova, had allied himself not only with 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣun but also with the Banī Qasī of Saragossa and the King of Leon. With a view to detaching him from the league, 'Abd Allāh restored his son and thus won his heart and loyalty.

Death :- In the later part of Amīr 'Abd Allāh's reign people realised their mistake in not submitting to the Amīr and in entangling themselves in warfare. Hardly had the Amīr's authority begun to be re-estblished in the disaffected territories when the weak and timid ruler died at the age of sixty-eight on the lst Rabī' al-Awwal, 300/Oct. 15, 912, after a troubled and in glorious reign of about twenty-four years. He had, however, prepared the way for the pacification of Spain, which his grandson 'Abd al-Raḥmān was to complete during the first part of his long and glorius reign. Despite the political ebb tide continued in cultural field. The works of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889) were brought to Spain towards the end of 'Abd Allāh's reign.[2]

1. *Cf.* Gomez, *Historia*, IV, p, 238.

2. *Cf.* Ibn al Faraḍī, No. 199 ; R. Guest, the *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, 548.

CHAPTER IX

KHILĀFAT PERIOD (929-1031 A.C.)

'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN III AL-NĀṢIR (912-961 A.C.)

Succession :— In Oct. 912 A. C. 'Abd Allāh was succeeded by his grandson 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who was then about 22 years of age, superseding the claim of Muẓaffar the younger son of 'Abd Allāh. Muḥammad, the father of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had been actually the heir to the throne but finding him involved in a conspiracy with 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn and other rebel chiefs 'Abd Allāh had killed him and nominated Muḥammad's son as his successor. The choice was acclaimed by the people and there was no opposition in the country because the princes, courtiers, and people were all convinced of the future greatness of the new ruler.

Resolution to Crush the Ringleadess :— When 'Abd al-Raḥmān III came to the throne, he had to face not only internal dissensions but also external troubles, the Christian kingdom of Leon and the Fatimid power in present Tunisia were strongest foes on two fronts. He overcame these weaknesses and threats and brought al-Andalus to a height of greatness. The contradictory policies followed by Muḥammad I and his son 'Abd Allāh had weakened the government. Ambitious governors often declared their independence and fought one another while the citizens, in their turn, often turned against and slew them. Brigands fortified themselves in the mountains and harried the country. The royal authority was scarcely felt beyond the limits of the capital. Agriculture

was ruined, industry was at a stand-still and trade was almost non-existent. A severe famine had broken out at Jaen in 297/909-10 when many had escaped death only by migrating to North Africa. Such was the condition of the State that 'Abd al-Raḥmān III inherited. He abandoned the temporising policy of his grandfather,[1] and adopted a strong attitude towards the insurgents. In order to consolidate his position he put an end to the rebellions, neutralised the influence of the powerful 'Arab aristocracy and maintained the frontiers of Muslim Spain to the north and the south.

As he was firm in his determination, he boldly declared that he valued more the fortresses and strongholds of the rebels than their tributes. It seemed that the chiefs would unite against him. But it was not to be so. A gradual change had come over the country and the 'Arab aristocracy had lost most of its illustrious chiefs including Sa'īd ibn Jūdī,[2] Qurayb ibn Khaldūn and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj.[3] Rebels like Ibn Ḥafṣūn were still alive but he was old enough to lead any effective opposition. Being tired of anarchy and civil war, people had ceased to support the rebel chiefs and were longing for the peace for which 'Abd al-Raḥmān avowedly stood. The new ruler began to reclaim the lost provinces and extend his conquests on all sides.

Submission of Banū Ḥajjāj of Seville :— The civil wars ruined the power of Banū Ḥajjāj in Seville. 'Abd al-Raḥmān

1. *Cf.* Rafael Altamira, *The Western Caliphate* in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, Cambridge, 1922, p. 420.

2, Killed in Dec. 897 (Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 369.)

3. He died in 298/910-11 leaving behind two sons, 'Abd al- Raḥmān and Muḥammad, who were chiefs of Seville and Carmona respectively (*Cf.* Levi Provencal, *Histoire*, I, p. 368).

and Muhammad succeeded their father Ibrāhīm ibn Hajjāj in Seville and Carmona respectively. The former died in 913 A. C. and his younger brother Muhammad tried to occupy Seville but his cousin Ahmad ibn Muslimah was chosen as chief in his place. Muhammad fled to Cordova and sought the royal help against his brother. He was enrolled in the army as a volunteer. Seville was besieged. The helpless Ahmad ibn Muslimah with the help of 'Umar ibn Hafsūn met the royal force on the right bank of the Guadalquivir but was completely routed. Then Ahmad bin Muslimah negotiated with Badr the Prime Minister of 'Abd al- Rahmān III and submitted on honourable terms in December 913. Muhammed being disappointed fled to Carmona. He was, however, consoled with the title of wazīr granted to him by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in April 914 Carmona thus came into the hands of the Amīr.

War with 'Umar ibn Hafsūn — Before the end of 913, the 'Arab ruling family of Seville was replaced by an obedient governor. This weakened Ibn Hafsūn's hold greatly. To the Christians of southern Spain and to all those who did not like Muslim rule, 'Umar had come to be known as the champion of liberty and freedom. Most of the inhabitants of southern Spain, neo-Muslims as well as Christians, rallied round him. By the time 'Abd al-Rahmān III ascended the throne they were no longer keen on overthrowing the Imārat because the new Amīr showed signs of establishing peace which their ringleader 'Umar had failed to maintain during the disturbing period of the rule of Muhammad I, Mundhir and 'Abd Allāh. They were tired of such long anarchy and civil war and clamoured for peace and 'Umar had negotiated with the 'Abbāsid ruler as mentioned

previously for an appointment as governor of Spain, but he failed in his ambitious plan. Moreover the conflict was no longer a national one but had now assumed a religious character because according to Ibn 'Idhārī, 'Umar with his most powerful ally Ibn Mastānah had embraced Christianity about 899A. C. as partly described above and constructed many churches.[1] He gave lucrative posts to the Christians in preference to the neo-Muslims. The apostasy of 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, who called himself Samuel now, paved the way for serious feuds among his followers.

The descendants of serfs and slaves, having recollected the treatment of the Gothic rulers, did not like that Christianity should become once more the dominant religion, because they feared that in that case they would surely be deprived of the privileges which they enjoyed under the Muslim rule. Giving up the cause of Samuel they turned against him. Samuel could now rely only on his Christian followers and the African mercenaries. The Christians and the Muslims of Spain had begun to look upon one another with suspicion and contempt. A year before Samuel's conversion to Christianity when the neo-Muslim chief, Ibn al-Shaliah, recaptured Cazlona, strong fortress in the province of Jaen, the latter put the whole Christian garrison to the sword. Some of the followers of Samuel, especially the neo-Muslims, who had grown weary of conflict and of the vacillating policy of their leaders, reconciled themselves with a just and tolerant ruler like 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. After defeating Samuel on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III attacked Regio At every step he met with stiff

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 386,

opposition from the Christian followers of Samuel, They killed and imprisoned many of the rearguard and vanguard, yet the Amīr reached Tolox where Samuel had taken shelter. At Tolox Samuel resisted the royal force stubbornly but the castle was surrendered by his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān to the Amīr. About the same time his vessels laden with provisions from North Africa were intercepted by the royal fleet. Samuel died in 917 A. C. Ibn 'Idhārī remarks, "In this year died 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, prop of the infidels, chief of hypocrites, firebrand of civil war, refuge of the breeders of discord and hatred."[1]

'Umar (Samuel) was a man of great ability and military skill, and for thirty years he fought the four Amīrs. He proved to be a hero although he was treacherous and selfish. His conversion to Christianity was the main cause of his fall. Had he stuck to Islām the Christians would have continued to support his cause against Cordovan rule and neo-Muslims would not have deserted him in order to help the Cordovan King in suppressing his revolt and he might have been successful in establishing a dynasty, which might have given the history of Spain a different turn.

Submission of the sons of 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn :— Samuel had four sons Ja'far, Sulaymān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ḥafṣ. Ja'far, who succeeded Samuel, could not maintain his independence and agreed to pay an annual tribute to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 919 A. C. He intended to re-embrace Islām in order to enhance his power and to reconcile his father's Spanish Muslim followers, but his policy proved fatal to him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had already established peace which the Spanish Muslim desired. The latter were no longer ready to join the force of a malcontent. On the other

1, *Cf.* *Al-Bayān al-Maghrib* quoted by Hole, *Andalus*, p, 164,

hand the Christian soldiers objected to their chief's hypocrisy, rose against him and killed him in 920 A. C. Sulaymān succeeded his brother but he could not maintain peace and died fighting against the royal force in February 927. He was succeeded by his brother Ḥafṣ; Bobastro was finally besieged in June 927 by the Cordovan force. Ḥafṣ surrendered after a stiff resistance for six months. He was imprisoned but subsequently employed in the royal army. Thus fell into the hands of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III the proud stronghold, which had defied the continuous attacks of four Cordovan rulers for about half a century.

Subjugation of the Province of Ecija, Jaen and Elvira :—In April 923 'Abd al-Raḥmān III himself led the troops against the rebels of the south. His readiness to share with his soldiers their glories as well as their sorrows made them enthusiastic and raised their moral. In the first campaign the fortress of Ecija was razed to the ground and the city was captured. The second campaign was undertaken with the object of reducing the provinces of Jaen and Elvira. The strong fortress of Monteleon in the province of Jaen was invested and its chief Sa'īd ibn Ḥudhayl submitted. Ibn al-Shalīyah, the chief of Cazlona, and Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, the chief of Mentesa also paid homage to him. Next, 'Abd al-Raḥmān marched towards the province of Elvira and met with no opposition until he reached Fināṇah, which was held by 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn's partisans. Fināṇah fell after a short but stiff resistance. Full amnesty was granted to the citizens. Later the Berbers of the Banī Muhallab of the province of Elvira submitted. The strong fort of Monte Rubio situated on the frontier of Jaen and Elvira was also captured and the power of the Christian bandits was

crushed. Their strong castles were captured and dismantled and the entire tract was purged of brigands and pacified. After the fall of Monte Rubio all the chiefs of the neighbouring forts and towns readily accepted the suzerainty of 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Juviles, the Christian fortress, along with many other important forts like those of Salobrena, San Estevan de Gormaz and Bena Forata, were captured. The bitterest enemies of the State were thus punished severely but the others were released. Loyal and experienced military officers were posted in strategic positions.

Reduction of Tudmir :— After establishing his authority, in the south, 'Abd al-Raḥmān now turned his attention to other parts of Spain. In 928 A. C. the royal army forced the 'Arab Shaykh Aslamī, the chief of Alicante, to capitulate. He was brought to Cordova as a prisoner along with the members of his family.

Merida and Beja also submitted. Next Khalaf ibn Bakr, the neo-Muslim chief of Oksonoba, in the province of Algarve was reduced to submission.

Subjugation of Toledo :– In the Lower March the descendants of Ibn Marwān, ruler of Badajoz, put up stiff resistance and did not submit till 930 A. C. Toledo, which had so long enjoyed a kind of political independence, fell a prey to famine and was blockaded by the royal force under the Caliph himself for two years. To prolong the defence stock of food was kept inside the granary and supply of water was rationed by the Toledans,[1] whereas to continue the siege for long a new town, al-Fataḥ, was built in the

1. *Cf.* Author's article, *Farming and Storing in Muslim Spain under the Umayyads* in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, (India) 1959, pp. 228-231.

neighbourhood of Toledo by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. The Christian King Ordoño of Leon and Jilliqiyah (Galicia and Northern Spain) came to the rescue of Toledo but was defeated in 320/932. Toledo was the last stronghold of the rebels in the Middle March. The Tujubid though showed signs of loyalty in the beginning in the Upper March, the lord of Saragossa transfered his loyalty to the Christian ruler of Leon in 937 and surrendered Saragossa only when it was forced by siege. Thus the 'Arabs, the Berbers and the Spaniards were all vanquished and compelled to submit to the monarchical form of government. By means of astuteness, by relentless severity and unbreakable resolution the Caliph established absolute authority in Muslim Spain and got himself respected by many of his enemies.

Foreign Policy :— On having internal pacification 'Abd al-Raḥmān III pursued a strong foreign policy and all his external activities centered around his two main aims: first to fight against the Christian chiefs of the North and extend his suzerainty there, and secondly to counter the Fatimid influence and power in North Africa and in the Mediterranean waters.

1. *Christian Raids in the North* :— Since the time of Alfonso I, the Christian princes had not many advances into Muslim parts of Spain. The country was rent by many revolts during the time of 'Abd Allāh but the Christian chiefs of the North were slow in taking advantage of this. They, however, managed to capture a string of forts along the frontier which formed a strong barrier against the Muslims. The Caliph had not only to quell rebellions at home but also to deal with enemies abroad. The Christians of the North, the Basques, the Aragonese and Castilians, had not been

subdued. They were fanatic, intolerant, and destroyers of Muslim civilization in Spain. In 914 A. C. the Leonese under the leadership of Ordoño II (Urdun or Adifensh or Radmir as he was called by the Muslims) devastated the province of Merida. They were the bitterest enemies of the Muslims. Whenever they captured a Muslims town they put the citizens to the sword. They perpetrated atrocities at Alanje and burned the suburbs of Talavera. But the Christian rulers of the period were comparatively weaker than their predecessors and because of the collapse of the Carolingian empire they did not receive military aid from outside Spain.

After establishing peace at home 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent Aḥmad, son of Abī 'Abdah, in 916 and again in 917 A. C. to chastise the Christians and to protect the Muslims of the North. In the second campaign Aḥmad was about to storm the strong fortress of Castro Moros when Ordoño II of Leon came to its rescue. Aḥmad's half Berber and half Spaniard soldiers could not withstand the Leonese onslaught. The Muslim commander was killed and the army routed. In 1918 with his ally Sancho of Navarre, Ordoño ravaged Tudela, Najera and also Valtierra.

Submission of the Leonese and Navarrese :— In July 918 Ḥājib Badr was put in command of the royal force and twice he defeated the Leonese at Mutonia and in June 920 'Abd al-Raḥmān took over command of the army in person. Ordoño II seized Osma and demolished the important fortresses of Castro Moros, Alcubilla and Clunia. On the approach of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's enemies, who did not dare face him, fled from one place to another. 'Abd al-Rahmān left a small force under Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh bin Lope, the governor of Tudela, to check the advance of the Leonese

and proceeded towards Navarre. No opposition was met by the Muslim force till it crossed the Ebro.

The Navarrese destroyed the vanguard of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's army and then waited in the defiles to cut his main force into pieces; But the Muslims inflicted a severe defeat at Val de Junqueras on the combined forces Sancho, King of Navarre, and his ally Ordoño and destroyed some of their fortified places. The bishops, Dulcidus of Salamanca and Hermogius of Tuy, fell captives into the hands of the Muslims. Descending from the hills the Christians had welcomed battle in the plain of Junqueras between Mues and Salimas de Oro which was their tactical mistake and they were defeated. After three months the Amīr returned to his capital in triumph.[1]

But the Christians did not despair of success. Ordoño and Sancho again raided the Muslim frontier provices, captured Najera and Viguera in 923 A. C., killed many men and took away women and children as prisioners 'Abd al Raḥmān repulsed their attacks and punished the Basques and the Leonese, penetrated as far as Pamplona the capital of Navarre, and destroyed many of its fortresses. Meanwhile Ordoño died and his sons fought each other for the throne of their father. Sancho was now left alone to meet the Cordovan army with his depressed force. The Navarrese tried to resist the Muslim advance at several places but were defeated each time and their king Sancho was humbled. After reducing the whole kingdom of Navarre 'Abd al-Raḥmān assumed the title of *Amīr al-Mū'minīn* and *al-Nāsir lidīn Allāh* on the 16th January 929 A. C.[2]

1. *Cf. Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 1922, *421*.
2. *Cf. Ibid p.* 421.

Ordoño II died in 924 A.C. and civil war broke out among his brothers. Alfonso IV overpowered his brother Sancho and occupied Leon, while Sancho retained the possession of Galicia. In 931 A.C. Alfonso IV abdicated in favour of his brother Ramiro II. The latter defeated several of his kinsmen and in 932 A.C. raided Muslim territories. The Khalīfah 'Abd al-Raḥmān drove him out and destroyed Burgos the capital of Castile and swept through Alva and Galicia. But soon disturbance brok out in the North and a formidable league was formed against the Khalīfah. In 934 A.C. Muḥmmad bin Hāshim, Tujubid governor of Saragossa, rebelled against the Khalīfah and offered his services to Ramiro. They then concluded an alliance with Garcia, the minor ruler of Navarre. The whole of the North thus rose against the Khalīfah but he faced this danger boldly. After defeating the Banū Hāshim and the Christians at Calatayud in 937 A.C. he captured about thirty fortresses and then compelled the defenders of Navarre and Saragossa to surrender. Muaḥmmad ibn Hāshim, who was the governor of Saragossa and a powerful noble, was pardoned and re-appointed to his post. Tutah (Theuda), widow,of Sancho and guardian of Garcia, sustaining defeat after defeat, sued for peace and acknowledged the Khalīfah as the lord of Navarre. Thus with the exception of Leon, and a part of Catalonia which was a dependency of France, the whole of Spain submitted to the Khalīfah.

Battle of Alhandega :—In 327/938-9 the Galicians and Basques again revolted. The Khalīfah led an expedition against them and gave the command of the army, consisting of one hundred thousand Slavs called *Ṣaqālibah*,

which will be discussed later in detail, and the 'Arabs to a Slav general named Najdah (Najha). This antagonised the Arabs who being proud of their descent preferred defeat to victory under a Slav general. The Khalīfah marched on Leon and the royal troops after several days of fight at Simancas south of modern Valladolid were put to flight and many of them fell victim to the trench which meanwhile had been dug by Ramiro at the rear of the Muslim troops around Zamora. The fort was besieged. It was defended by several walls with a large ditch within the inner circle. Before reaching the ditch the Muslims had to fight the combined forces of the Galicians and Basques. There the Arabs deserted the Slavs and retired only to be ruined on the way. They were hotly pursued by the Leonese. Horse and foot fled pell-mell. The deserted Slavs reached the inner circle of the ditch and fought bravely in the midst of a shower of arrows and spears, and crossing the ditch fell upon the Christians and killed many of them. The battle was fought on the banks of the Tormes near the village of al-Khandaq (Sp. Alhandega, Engl. the Ditch) south of Salamanca. The Slavs fought bravely but were ultimately defeated and killed. The Khalīfah could escape only with forty-nine men. It gave great blow to 'Abd Raḥmān III and Ramiro resettled the Christians in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, and became engaged in quelling the rebellion of the Castilians. Thus further extension in the north was stopped by Ramiro II, the king of Leon and Asturias (932-950).

Owing to civil war, the Christians could not reap fully the fruits of this victory although they continued to give trouble to the Khalīfah. Aḥmad ibn Ya'la, the governor of

Badajoz, checked the advance of the Leonese in 940 A. C. The Khalīfah sent another force to punish the Galicians and the Basques. In 944 and 947 A. C. the royal force made forays into Castilian territory. On the death of Ramiro II in 950, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III increased his influence and power in the North. The King of Leon, the Queen of Navarre and the Counts of Castile and Barcelona acknowledged his suzerainty and agreed to pay annual indemnity or tribute and dismantle or hand over their strongholds on the Muslim front.

In order to forge a link with Castile, the Caliph created another intermediate province in the frontier with Medinanceli (Madīnat al-Sālim, the city of protection) near the ford of Duero as its capital. It became henceforth the bulwark of the Muslims against Castile.

The campaigns against the Christians continued for a few years until Ordoño III, son and successor of Ramiro II, sued for peace in 955 A. C. A treaty was concluded on terms favourable to the Christians. In order to fight the Fāṭimids 'Abd al-Raḥmān III established peace in the North where he had extended the Muslim frontier to a line running from Lerida on the Atlantic to the source of the Ebro.

Sancho and Tutah (Theuda) visited Cordova :—After the death of Ordoño III in August 955, his successor, Sancho the Fat, refused to abide by the terms of the treaty concluded by his brother. Aḥmad ibn Ya'la, who had been appointed governor of Toledo in 954 A. C., heavily defeated the Leonese in 957 A. C. The defeated Sancho was soon driven out by the Leonese with the help of Fernan Gonzalez, the chief of Castile, and Ordoño IV, cousin of Sancho, was elected in his stead as their chief. Sancho took refuge at Pamplona with the

aged queen-regent of Navarre and appealed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III for help against his cousin and rival Ordoño IV. Negotiations continued and the Caliph sent his Jewish physician Hasdai ebn Shaprut to cure Sancho of his excessive corpulence. Thanks to the diplomacy of Hasdai, who was also the inspector general of customs of Cordova, Sancho and his grandmother Tutah came in person to Cordova and promised to surrender ten fortresses in return for royal help. The royal troops won for Sancho Zamora in 959 A. C. and Oviedo in the following year. Ordoño IV fled to Burgos and Ferdinand (Fernan Gonzalez) was taken prisoner. By 960 A. C. Sancho re-established his authority in Leon, Galicia and Navarre but accepted the vassalage of the Khalīfah. Thus the Christian invasion which aimed at the destruction of the Umayyad race and the extirpation of Muslim civilization was checked and the work of restoration was completed. The little Cordovan kingdom of the time of 'Abd Allāh became a great Muslim Empire extending from Tarragona to the Atlantic coast and from the source of Ebro to the Straits of Gibraltar.[1] In 960 with the acknowledgement of Umayyad suzerainty by Leon which included all the north-west corner of Spain in its kingdom, the Muslim expansion reached its limit and in one sense conquest of Iberian peninsula was completed. This territorial extension was maintained upto the end of the tenth century. The cold climate and the small towns were not suitable for Muslims specially Arabs. It was unattractive to settle there as the life was hard and the local inhabitants were hostile.

1. *Cf. Cambridge Medieval History*, III, pp. 421-2

War with the Fāṭimids :—While these operations in the North were in progress 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had to deal also with the Fāṭimids of North Africa to ward off the danger which beset Spain from the establishment of the Fāṭimid State. It was lucky for the Christians that about this time the African provinces were in turmoil and the Fāṭimids were at war with the Idrisids of Morocco which gave 'Abd al-Raḥmān an opportunity to interfere in North African affairs. In order to guard against any possible Fāṭimid attack and to prevent the extension of their power in Mauretania he built forts on the southern coast, organised a powerful fleet and instigated the small principalities of western Africa to rebel. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty was in alliance with 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn and sent emissaries and spies to Spain. The pro-Fāṭimid party consisted of free thinkers and Ismā'ilies (a branch of the Shi'ah who worked in the guise of pious men and preachers). The Cordovan philosopher Ibn Masarrah and the great geographer Ibn Ḥawqal belonged to this party. Another Aḥmad, the chief of the Banū Isḥāq of Seville, also designed to betray Spain to the Fāṭimids but he was arrested, condemned as a Shi'ite, and executd.[1] Realizing that his position in Spain would become insecure if Mahdī was allowed to flourish in North Africa, 'Abd al-Raḥmān took precautions, captured Ceuta in 319/931 and posted a garrison at Ceuta and at Gibraltar a fleet manned by soldiers under the command of two Qā'ids, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās and Yūnus b. Sa'īd. Abū Yazīd, a Khārijite leader of the Berber tribe of Iforen, accepted 'Abd al-Raḥmān's supremacy and laid

1. Cf. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 427, 409

siege to Mahdīyah during the time of Qā'im, the second Fāṭimid ruler. 'Abd al-Raḥmān on his part captured north-west Africa through his vassals. The Berbers of Algeria and Oran accepted his suzerainty and he was able to rally to his side the small local dynasties including the petty 'Arab rulers of Nukur, who had been defending themselves against the Fāṭimid invaders. With the help of the Maghrawa the Umayyad Khalīfah subdued the whole of Mauretania except the region of Ṭāhirāt (Tahort). But when al-Mu'izz, the fourth Fāṭimid ruler, came to the throne in 952 A. C., the Spanish rivals were driven out of North Africa as 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was at that time busy in fighting against the Christians of North Spain. In 955 A. C. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's merchantship bound fer Alexandria' intercepted a Sicilian ship bound for Mahdīyah, on board which there was a messenger sent by the governor of Sicily to Mu'izz carrying a plan of an attack on Spain. The latter ordered the governor of Sicily to make a raid on the Andalusian shore. The Governor carried out the order, ravaged the districts of Almeria and went back with prisoners to Sicily. He captured many ships including that which had formerly destroyed the Sicilian ship and had, meanwhile, returned from Alexandria loaded with singing girls and other valuable merchandise. 'Abd al-Raḥmān also sent his client admiral Ghālib to pillage the coasts of North Africa. But the expedition was not very successful. Another expedition under the command of a Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah named Aḥmad b. Ya'la was sent with a fleet of seventy ships. Marsā al-Kharaz near Calabria on the North African coast was set on fire and the countries of Sūsā and Ṭabarqah were devastated. After the expedition of Jawhar

the Fāṭimid general on Egypt in 959 only Tangier and Ceuta were left to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in Africa.

Death :— 'Abd al-Raḥmān III breathed his last on the 2nd Ramaḍān 350/15th October 961 after a long reign of about 49 years.

Achievements :— The long reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III constitutes one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Muslim Spain. He was unquestionably the ablest and most gifted of all the Umayyad rulers of Spain. He came to the throne at a time when the country was full of chaos and confusion. As a result of constant civil wars and factional rivalries, Spain was swarming with brigands and the roads had become so unsafe that for seven years no caravan could travel from Cordova to Saragossa and to other distant towns. He, however, possessed talent and knew the art to deal with lawless persons and rebels. He saved Spain both from internal troubles and external aggression. After eighteen years of military activities he succeeded in establishing his power over the whole of Spain and inaugurated an era of peace and prosperity. Toledo, Aragon, Extremadura and Bobastro, the estates of the neo-Muslims were reduced. The power of the 'Arab and Berber nobles was crushed and a just and firm administration was established in the cities and provinces. The terms of agreement were strictly observed. A concubine of a Christian noble, who had surrendered to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, appealed to the Qāḍī for her release from the captivity of her Christian master on the ground that she was a Muslim freed woman. On receiving report from the Prime Minister Badr, he forbade the Qāḍī from complying with her request as it would be an infringement of the terms of treaty already concluded

between the Christian Chief and the Umayyad Government.

'Abd al-Raḥmān maintained a standing army of 13,750 Berbers, Christians and Slavs and his great and well-disciplined army, perhaps the best in the contemporary world, made him formidable enough to subdue the Christians of the North and his splendid navy enabled him to wrest the supremacy of the western Mediterranean Sea from the Fāṭimids.

Generally secretaries were appointed from leading 'Arab families though never from the royal house. The caliph counterbalanced their influence by appointing Slavs and freedmen to various important posts. Badr ibn Aḥmad, a freedman of 'Abd Allāh, was the right-hand-man of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III till 921. Aḥmad ibn Shuhayd was honoured with the rank and salary of Dhu al-Wazāratayn. The Caliph received rich gifts from him and other senior officers. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. abolished all illegal taxes imposed in the previous reign. This regularised his revenue and stablished the economy of his empire. During his time one-third of the state revenue was spent on public buildings which were constructed throughout his empire.[1] In 316/928 'Abd al-Raḥmān III discharged five treasurers namely Sa'īd b. Sa'īd b. Judayr, Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Judayr, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Khālid b. Umayyah b. Shuhayd, 'Īsā b. Futays and in their place appointed Muḥammad b. Jahwar, Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Abī 'Abdah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zajjāli and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Qamus.[2]

For rapid communication and for easy movement of troops and merchandise the old roads were not only well maintained

1. Gayangos, II, p. 146.
2. *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1965, p. 54.

and repaired but also improved and new ones were constructed. For the safety of travellers and merchants guards were placed in outposts at regular intervals along the highways. Police arrangements were made so strict and efficient that strangers and traders with valuables could traverse difficult and dangerous routes without the least fear of molestation. To transmit news speedily, relays of horses were posted at various points. To inform the Government about the movement of enemies and to watch over towns and ports, watch-towers were erected all along the coast. Vast sums of money were spent in the construction and repair of public buildings. Castles, bridges and aqueducts were to be found everywhere in the country.[1] Hospitals for the sick, rest-houses for the destitutes and orphanages for the orphans were constructed. Thus Spain became the centre of highest culture in Western Europe. His achievements in diverse fields may be stated as under the following broad headings.

Adoption of the title of Khalīfah :— The Khalīfah, who was the political and religious head of the Sunnī Muslim State and in whoes possession were the two holy cities of Makkah and Madīnah, was the 'Abbāsid ruler of Baghdād and not the predecessors of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova. To have the Khuṭbah read in his name, the striking of gold coins and adoption of the title of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* were the three chief insignia of the Khilāfat. 'Abd al-Raḥmān I was content to declare himself independent and to have the Khuṭbah read in his name leaving the two remaining insignia of the Caliphate

1. Dozy (*Spanish Islam,* p. 445) says, "A third of the national revenue, which amounted in all to 6,245,000 pieces of gold, sufficed for normal expenditure ; a third was placed in reserve and Abd-ur-Rahman spent the rest upon public works."

for the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah, thus recognizing him psychologically as his religious head. For had he attempted to declare himself the full-fledged religious and political head of the Muslims in Spain, he would have had to face a lot of trouble, because the people and specially the theologians of Spain would not have submitted to him and he would have been easily thrown out of the phase of history. His immediate successors, also did not assume the title of Khalīfah.

By the tenth century the 'Abbāsids had lost not only their political power but religious and moral hold on the people as well. This loosened the psychological attachment of the people with the 'Abbāsid caliph, and resulted in the creation of several independent states. It also led the Fāṭimids of Mahdiyah to declare themselves as caliphs. This political disintegration of the 'Abbāsid Empire had a great psychological bearing on the mind of the people. The consideration of the early Muslims that the right to the Caliphate belonged only to the man who held possession of the two holy cities of Makkah and Madīnah had given place to their considerations of political power, the preservation of Muslim honour and prestige and the bearing of the torch of culture and civilization. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III possessed all the requisite qualities that the people at the time might have expected in a caliph. He, therefore, after ruling over the country as an Amīr for about 17 years and after re-establishing his dynasty firmly in Spain declared himself as Khalīfah and adopted the title of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* and the throne name of *al-Nāṣir li din Allāh* in 316/929.[1] He issued gold coins in order to compete with the Fāṭimids and the

1. *Cf.* Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, p. 212/327 ; *Cf.* Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne*, pp. 45-47 & *Lazacion*, pp. 33—4

Byzantines in international markets. By this claim he asserted caliphal power not against the 'Abbāsids but against the Fāṭimid rival and gave some theological justification for recognizing the suzerainty of the Umayyads of Spain.

Embassies to Foreign Courts :—The Khalīfah not only established peace and order at home but also commanded respect and awe abroad. During the troublous periods from Muḥammad I to 'Abd Allāh there had been no exchange of embassies. During the time of Nāṣir when the prestige of the Empire was raised embassies were received from distant as well as neighbouring countries. The emperor of Constantinople and the kings of Germany and France opened diplomatic relations with him and sent ambassadors to his court. In 336/947-8 a mission was received by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III from Constantine, the Greek Emperor, in the vaulted Hall of al-Zahrā' Palace. The utmost magnificence was displayed, the finest carpets were spread in the streets, and the royal bodyguard stood at attention on both sides of the streets. At the time of reception given to the Greek envoy the awe of the whole setting was such that even learned man like Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, Ṣāḥib al-Amāli, could not deliver the required oration. Mundhir ibn Sa'īd made a very impressive speech extempore at the occasion which earned him the office of the qāḍi of Cordova. Otto the Great of Germany entered into diplomatic relations with the Khalīfah and his ambassador John, a monk of the abbey of Gorze near Metz, was escorted to the Muslim territory by the Muslim governor of Tortosa and all his travelling expense was paid out of the royal treasury of Cordova. He was received in a superb manner. According to the German historian Luitprand the object of this German mission was to put a stop to the devastations perpetrated

by the Muslim colonies in France and Italy which, specially Fraxinet, were under the influence of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.[1] After 947 Ukoh (Hugo) of Provence, the king of the Franks beyond the Pyrenees mountain, and Caldoh (Charles the Simple), the king of Eastern France, sent embassies to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Friendly relation was also established with the King of Italy against the hostile Fāṭimid. Direct relations were also maintained with the Slav countries, the Christians of North Spain and the people of Rome. The Khalīfah's, ambassador Recemund (Recemundus) who was proficient in Latin and Arabic and was better known as Rabi ibn Zayd at the court of Otto the Great of Germany[2] helped Luitprand (Liudprand) in the composition of his history, *the Antapodosis*. His physician, Hasdai ebn Shaprut, whose service had been utilized in receiving the German and Byzantine ambassadors, was sent on embassies to Queen *Tota* of Navarre and King Ordoño IV of Leon.

Development of Agriculture :– The lands were mostly farmed out on the share-cropping system, the farmers of fertile lands were called 'halvers' because they paid half of their produce to the State treasury. From crown properties alone 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had 750,000 dinars annually as recorded by Ibn Bashkuwāl.[3] The low price of commodities and the disappearance of beggary testify to the general prosperity of the people. Ibn Ḥawqal says that fruits were sold cheaply almost as if for no price.[4] Under his reign Andalucia saw the

1. *Cf.* H. K. Sherwani, *Muslim Colonies*, pp. 155-157

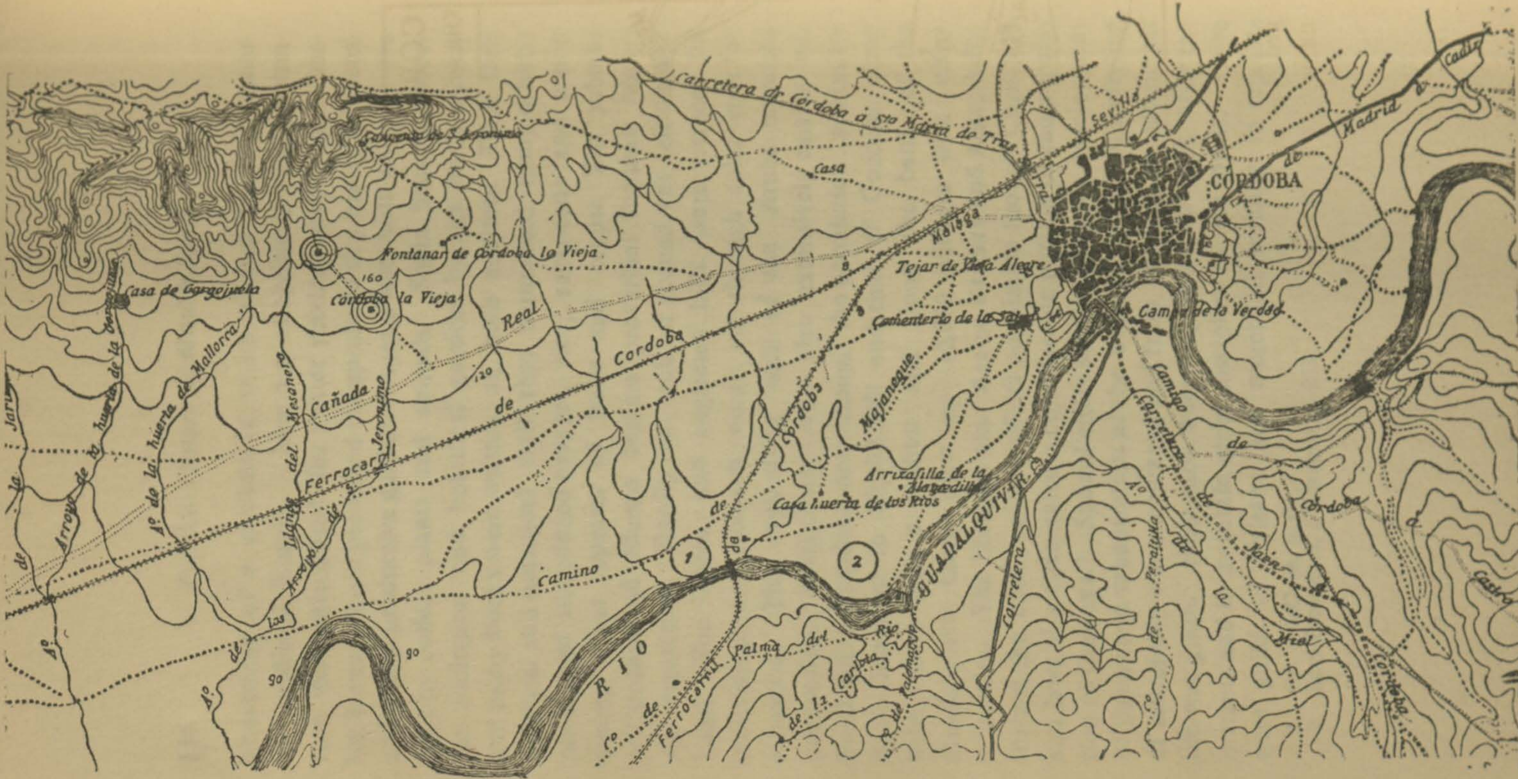
2. Hole (*Andalus*, pp. 91) says that Otto's envoys had been allowed to attend the services at St. Martin on feast days. The learned author also appreciates the protocol system of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.

3. Hole, p. 70

4. *Cf.* Kramers, Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 114.

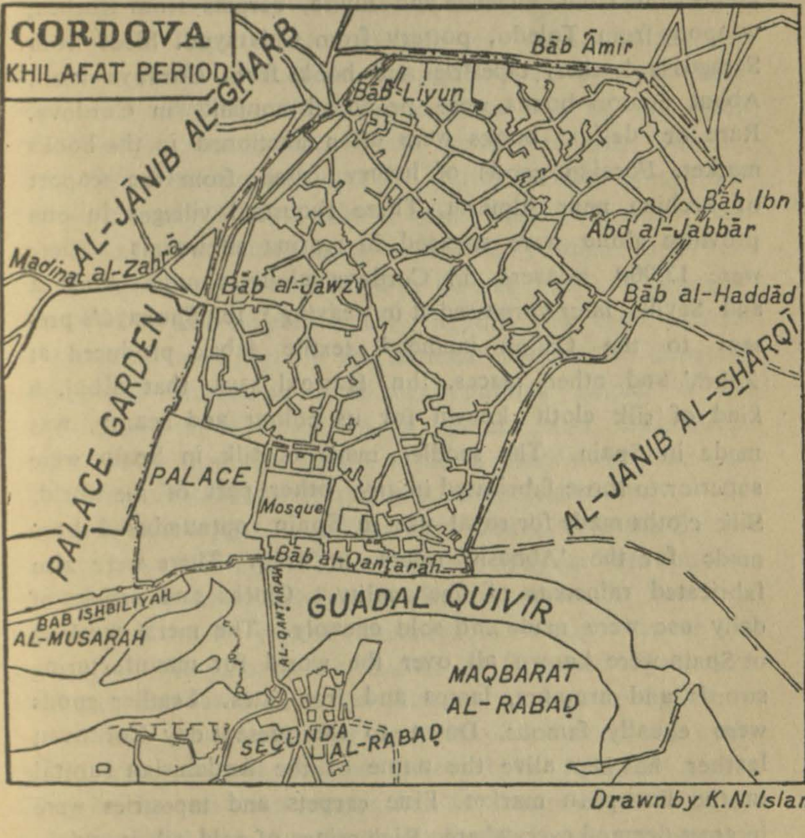
blossoming of a civilization which elicited the admiration of medieval Europe. New arts of agriculture and horticulture were introduced for better production of crops. During his rule Spain presented the spectacle of a highly cultivated and richly productive garden. Agents were sent all over the East to collect plants and animals. Spain became famous for zoological and botanical gardens by the tenth century and many books were written on both subjects. With their technical and botanical skill they naturalised many oriental plants, and introduced oranges, rice, sugar-cane and cotton among other species of fruits and crops. The suburbs of Cordova and Murcia became proverbial for their luxuriant vegetation. Hardly an inch of ground was left uncultivated. The barren and neglected hills were terraced for cultivation, and channels were cut through solid rock for irrigation. The engineering skill of the Arabs increased production. Stockraising was also extensively carried on. Food being abundant and cheap, the population of Muslim Spain increased to 30,000,000[1] and that of Cordova alone being more than a million and along the bank of the Guadalquivir there grew up 12,000 villages with many industries. The Muslims *viz.* Arabs, Berbers and *Muwalladūn* formed the chief nucleus of its population though Christians and Jews also constituted a considerable portion of the population of Cordova.[2] Special effort was made in the development of towns and urbanization of the country. A genuine feeling of citizenship was encouraged and fresh impetus to municipal life was given. Muḥtasibs were appointed to look after the markets and to maintain strict discipline in the towns. There were guilds of artisans and merchants residing in seperate

1. *Cf.* McCabe, p. 63.
2. Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne*, p. 232.



Plan of Cordova and its suburbs : ◯ Madīnah al-Zahrā' (Cordoba la vieja), ◎ al-'Āmiriyah (Casa de Gargajuela) and (1-2) Madīnah al-Zāhirah.

quarters of the city. There were also established inns to provide suitable accomodation to the travelling merchants and their goods. Material and economic background offered good opportunities for literary, artistic and scientific activities.



Industry :— Along with agriculture, industry was encouraged and developed. Cordova, Seville and other cities had numerous special industries of silk, cotton, wool, leather,

and metal which enriched the population and added to the wealth of Spain. Cordova was a city of industry and commerce. Its principal thoroughfares were named after their flourishing industries of parehment, perfumes, saddles and shoes. Silk goods came from Valencia and Elvira, carpets from Cuenca, weapons from Toledo, pottery from Calatayud, hides from Saragossa, leather, tapestries and books from Cordova itself. About 60,000 books were produced annually in Cordova, Rare or de-lux books were often auctioned in the books market. Foreign goods of luxury came from the seaport of Pechina near Almeria. Three thousand villages in one province alone were engaged in rearing silkworms. There were 13,000 weavers in Cordova alone, though Almeria and Seville later surpassed it in weaving.[1] Ibn S̲h̲uhayd's present to the Caliph included textile fabric produced at Zahrā' and other places. Ibn Ḥawqal says that dībāj, a kind of silk cloth known for its colour and beauty, was made in Spain. The saddles made of silk in Spain were superior to those fabricated in any other part of the world. Silk cloths made for royal use in Spain outnumbered those made for the 'Abbasid rulers in 'Irāq. There were also fabricated raincoats of fine quality.[2] Cloths and articles of daily use were made and sold cheaply. The metal workers of Spain were known all over the world for manufacturing swords and armours, lamps and iron gates. Leather goods were equally famous. Down to the present day Cordovan leather has kept alive the name of the Andalusian capital in the European market. Fine carpets and tapestries were in great demand everywhere. Rich mines of gold, silver, quick-

1. *cf.* McCabe, p. 63 ; *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, p. 432.
2. *cf.* Kramers, Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 116.

silver, and iron were worked out and there were quarries of marble and other stones. The industries met the needs of the local population and the surplus specially luxury goods found markets outside Spain.

Trade :—The trade of Damascus and Baghdād was largely camel-borne but that of Andalucia was mostly carried by merchant fleets. The trade was carried on by land route with France and other European countries and by sea route with the Mediterranian islands and coasts and with Tunisia, Egypt and other eastern countries. During its most prosperous period, the merchant vessels of Spain numbered more than a thousand. Permanent agencies for the purchase and sale of merchandise were established in distant lands. Commerce flourished to such an extent that "import and export duties provided the large part of the national revenue."[1] Constant commercial intercourse with many nations helped in the growth and diffusion of 'Arab culture and civilization. Ambassadors from many parts of the civilized world came to Cordova to establish cultural and commercial contact. The foreign trade brought Spain into close contact with the Byzantines and the Muslims of East. The best in agriculture and also in science and medicine of the North turned to the South to learn though there existed considerable tension between the agricultural and pastoral civilization of Christian Spain and the commerce based urban civilization of Muslim Spain.

With the development of agriculture, industry and commerce, the national revenue increased to 6,24,000 dīnārs annually eighteen times greater than in the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I and with the increase of which rose the general

1. *Cf*, Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 446 - Letter from Chasdai to the King of Khezars in *Des Khozars au Xe siecle* by Carmoly, p. 37 & n. I

standard of living; thus Ibn Ḥawqal says that with few exceptions people rode on mules and horses instead of journeying on foot[1] which indicates the general prosperity of people in Muslim Spain specially Cordova. The State coffers contained twenty million dinars at the end of his reign.

Learning and Culture :— 'Abd al-Raḥmān III patronised literature and science and spent one-third of the State coffers annually on the advancement of learning and culture. The Caliph contributed much to the civilization of Spain. Philosophers like Ibn Masarrah (d. 931 A. C.), historians like Ibn al-Aḥmar (d. 969), astronomers like Aḥmad b. Naṣr (d. 944) and Maslamah ibn al-Qāsim (d. 964), physicians like 'Arīb b. Sa'īd and Yaḥyā b. Isḥāq flourished during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. By the time of 'Abd Raḥmān III, the Jews began to take very prominent parts in cultural activities. Hasdai ebn Shaprut (945-70 A. D.) was a great diplomat and physician and worked as treasurer and finance minister of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. The illustrated botanical work *Dioscorides* translated into Arabic by the Greek scholar Nicolas[2] with the assistance of ebn Shaprut was the source book for the study of Greek science in Muslim Spain. Jewish physicians from Cordova served as court physicians in various European kingdoms. Yaḥyā bin Isḥāq was another important physician of his time. Famous scholars were given rich awards by the Khalīfah and travelling scholars were cordially welcomed, entertained and helped. Scholars from distant countries flocked to the institutions and libraries of Andalus. Among them the Fāṭimid geographer, Ibn Ḥawqal,

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 445; Kramers, p. 114,

2. Greek-knowing persons except a few like Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣqalabi, a renowned physician of Cordova were rarely available in Spain.

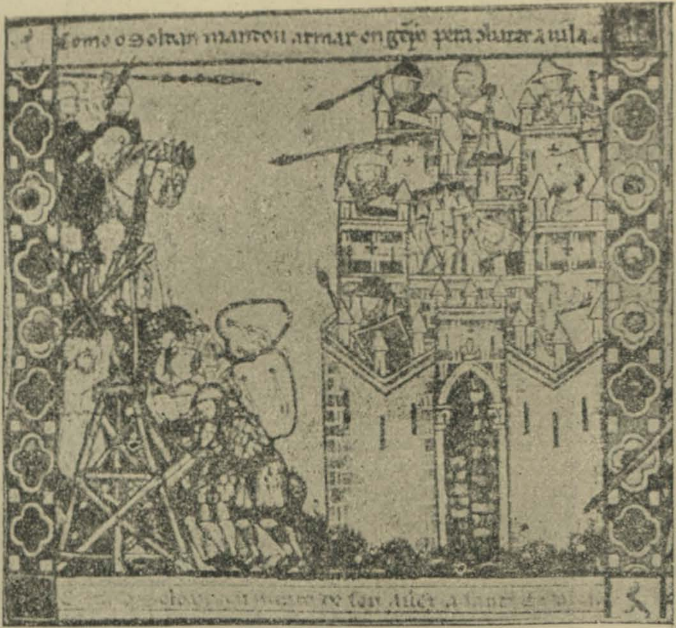
visited Cordova and Jewish scholars like Nicolas and Hasdai graced his court. Ibn Masarrah of Cordova (883—931), who had been charged with atheism and exiled, returned from Arabia during his time and began to propagate his philosophical ideas. He was deeply influenced by Greek philosophy and was strongly opposed by the Malikites. Ibn Masarrah retired from Cordova to a hermitage in the neighbouring *sierra* where he gathered a small number of disciples and founded a school of Andalusian mysticism.[1] On his return from a long journey through Egypt, 'Irāq and India, Ibn al-Aḥmar[2] served in the royal library and wrote a biographical history of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Abu'l Ḥasan 'Arīb b. Sa'īd, the author of the famous *Kitāb al-Awqāt al-Sanat*, flourished during the time of this Caliph and his son and successor Ḥakam II, wrote several other works and enlarged the famous chronicle fo Ṭabarī from 291 to 320 (904—932) by adding to it the history of North Africa and Spain. A portion of this work is extant and deals with the court and countries of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. He also wrote a work on medicine, a copy of which is preserved in the Escorial Library, Madrid. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, a great historian and author of the *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, flourished during his time. His work deals with the Muslim history of Spain upto the early days of his reign. Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 953) a historian of repute wrote a history of Spain known as the *Cronica del Moro Rasis* which is the basis of Spanish document. Advanced study of medicine was cultivated from about 950. Abū Ghālib Ḥabbāb (?) Ibn 'Ubāda was the most celebrated mathematician and Abū Ayyūb, the teacher of Maslamah al-Majrīṭī, a great

1. Cf. M. Asin Palacios, *Obras escogidas* (Ibn Masarrah y su escuela), I, Madrid, 1946, pp. 1-216.
2. *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1965, p. 184.

geometrician of his time. With the coming of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III oriental influence had increased and after the establishment of the Fatimids in Tunisia, summit scholars of Qayrawān were encouraged to settle in al-Andalus. Abū 'Abd al-Qab the great philologist of Baghdād was welcomed in 941.

Since his time Greek learning which had been patronized in Muslim Spain for the first time by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II took its deep root. Greek works were translated into Arabic and many original ones were written in Arabic on different subjects. A large number of books were collected in the libraries of the Khalīfah and his sons. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's library was added to and strengthened by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Schools were opened in every part of the Empire and orphanage in every big town. The orphanage of Cordova alone had 500 students on its roll. Mut'a, a pupil of Ziryāb, captivated Caliph's heart with her song and music. Ibn 'Abd Rabihi (860—940) a court poet of the Caliph was so much impressed by music that he often wept over his sins and tried to correct himself. He composed narrative poems, rare in Spain, on the warlike exploits of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III entitled *Urjuza*. Drawing his material mostly from the East and following the method of Ibn Qutaybah, he composed his literary thesaurus *'Iqd al-Farīd* (the Peerless Necklace) which earned him name in the East as well as in the West. The most accomplished poet of his time was Ibn Hani (d.973). He is called the Mutanabbi of the West. He was charged for heresy and banished from Spain at the age of twenty-seven. He took refuge under the Fatimids and wrote on the *warships* of Mu'izz. A new form of poetic composition known as the *muwashshah* was invented during his time by Muqaddam ibn Mu'āfā or Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd both of whom lived in Cabra near Cordova in the early tenth century. Some of the

Plate No. II

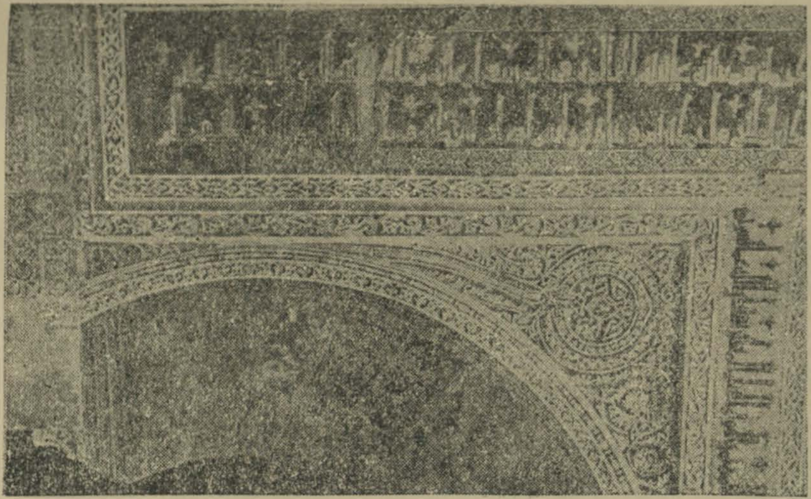


A Siege Engine (Reproduction from a 13th century Manuscript)



Loading of a Sea going cargo boat in the middle ages

Plate No. III



The Miḥrāb of Cordova Mosque decorated with mosaic work of foseifosa in 964-5 A. C. at the order of Ḥakam II.



Carved casket made at Cordova in 964 A. C. (preserved in the National Museum of Madrid)

Spanish prose writers preferred rhyme embellishment on oriental art of writing and displayed it in composing their works.

Al-Zahrā' Palace and Cordova Mīnār :—The Khalīfah had a great passion for building and constructed beautiful palaces, besides public buildings. The old Royal Palace was extended and adorned. In November 936 A. D. a much admired city and palace of al-Zahrā' were constructed three miles to the west of Cordova on the lower slopes of the Sierra Morena called *Jabal al-'Urūs*, in memory of his beautiful and beloved concubine al-Zahrā'. It took fifteen years to complete the main part of the Palace and a further twenty-five years to finish other structures and the laying of the city covering a total area of 280 acres (1660X815 yards) and protected by a wall with 5,000 gates. The construction was begun by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 325H/936 and completed by al-Ḥakam II in 365H/975 A. D. For its construction 10,000 labourers and 1,800 pack animals[1] were employed daily and in average 2,00,000 dīnārs were spent annually.[2] The city was divided into three descending terraces. The Caliph's palace, a *ḥaram*, a seraglio and a fort were located on the upper terrace and the Great Mosque with reception rooms overlooking the Guadalquivir and houses for slaves and servants on the lower terrace, while the middle one was reserved for gardening with shaded trees and flower plants, streams and game reserve. The magnificent structure of the mosque was completed in five-years on Friday, 22nd January 941 (329 H.) and public prayers were led by Qāḍī Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'Isā and attended by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. It consisted of five finely-wrought naves and the courtyard was paved in wine-coloured marble.

1. Cf., Gayangos, I, p. 234 ; *Azhār*, II, p. 269; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 446 : 1,500 pack animals.
2. Cf., Ibn *'Idhārī*, II, p. 246.

The Zahrā' Palace had 750 doorways and 4,316 pillars. Pieces of stone and various kinds of materials for construction and embellishment were brought from distant places as Byzantium, Carthage, Utica, Narbonne, Tarragona. Of the marble pillars 140 came from Constantinople and African cities, 19 from the Frankish kingdom, some from Rome and the remainder from Spanish quarries, white marble from Tarragona and Almeria and the streaked marble from Rayyuh. Two fountains of extraordinary shape and magnificent workmanship having representation of living beings were placed in the *Salon de los Califas* and the *Patio de al-Munis.* The large fountain made of gilt bronze with base-reliefs of human figures was imported from Constantinople and the smaller one of green marble came from Syria. The smaller washing trough was surrounded by twelve pieces of statuary made of gold and set with pearls and gems representing lions, stags, crocodiles, eagles, dragons, doves, falcons, ducks, hens, kites, vultures and cockerels and emitting water from their mouths. Greek sculptors and mosaicists were employed in decorating the palace. The Umayyad palaces specially Zahrā' were embellished with portraits and paintings. A statue of Queen Zahrā' was set up over the gateway of the palace. The hall of audience in the palace had a circular dome supported by marble columns inlaid with pearls and rubies. In the middle of the hall, there stood a marble basin of quicksilver on either side of which there were eight doors. In sunshine the basin used to rotate mechanically producing beautiful scene.

There was installation of running water in the city latrines, a novel introduction unknown elsewhere in those days. There were two baths one for the caliph's household and the other for the public. The artificial lake and reservoir of the city was always filled with clean water. The gardens had many streams and

watercourses. The fish tanks in the palace were supplied each day with 12,000 loaves of bread and 115 bushels of black seeds. The palace was a mile long and half a mile wide within the precincts of which the entire administration of the Empire was lodged. The marble-paved terrace, the circular pavilion, the magnificently decorated golden hall, mosque of incomparable design and garden of luxuriant flowers enhanced the beauty of the newly built royal city of Zahrā'. Of Zahrā' Palace which was a memorial of attachment to a slave-girl[1] nothing has survived the ravages of time, except only traces of the foundations.[2]

The city of Cordova was divided into five large districts, separated by turreted walls and there were twenty-one suburbs each having mosque, public markets and baths. In breadth the city extended from south to north along the bank of the Guadalquivir and in length from east to west. The total covered area was about 51 square miles including two square miles taken up by palaces of the caliphs. Alcazaba, a high-walled fortress, stood in the centre of the city. The delightful names of some of the suburbs are Garden of Wonders, Mosque of Rejoicing, shops of the Sweet-basil Sellers and Bakers' Quarter. The water was channelled from the Sierra de-Cordoba to the palace and from there it was supplied to all the suburbs, gardens, large pools and reservoirs through lead pipes.

The Cordovan citizens were consisted of orientals and Spaniards, soldiers, merchants, learned men, slaves, Jews, Mozarabs and foreign embassy personals. The oath taking

1. Some tombstones discovered at Cordova bear kufi inscriptions speaking about the masters' attachment to their slave girls and concubines.
2. It was ruined in 1013 and is now under restoration by the Spanish Government.

ceremonies and presentation of credentials by foreign ambassadors took place at Alcazar on the bank of the Guadalquivir. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, however, received ambassadors at Zahrā'. In the description of his embassy to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, Jean de Gorze, an ambassador of Otto I of Germany, expressed his wonder at the splendour of Cordova. In the distant and quiet cloister of Saxony the nun Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (d. 1002 A. D.) also could not but appreciate Cordova's grandeur by calling it 'the world's ornament.'[1] The Spanish city of Cordova stood at the cross-roads of the East and West and kept the torch of civilization burning.

A stately minaret was erected on the northern side of the Court of Oranges in the Grand Mosque of Cordova. It was 27 feet square and 108 feet high and was constructed of polished stone imported from North Africa.

This high minaret built square cross-sectionwise like the minarets in Syria after the demolition of the old one was a masterpiece of architecture. The facade of the Mosque itself was rebuilt along the north side. Moorish art in Spain is a fusion of oriental and occidental motifs. Most of the materials and techniques were local but the decorative motifs show considerable Syrian influence. The major portions of the mosque were constructed under the supervision of a Slav engineer, Abū Ja'far al-Aṣqalabī. The Caliph spent 26,530 dinars on the construction of the minaret and decoration of the Cordova Mosque. During his time 10,000 lamps were lighted and 300 servants looked after the Mosque.

Ṣaqālibah :—The army organization was based on tribal units known as *jund.* This system had its own defects, first lack of disci-

1. Cf., Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam,* p. 57.

pline, secondly more attachment to the tribal chiefs than to the state. It was due to these reasons the Amirs of Spain from the very beginning had a standing army of slave bodyguards.[1] In spite of the additions made to these from time to time their number was too small in comparison to that of the junds and hence insignificant to control the 'Arab tribes and to maintain peace and order in the country.

It was the policy of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III to reduce or even totally eradicate the influence of the old 'Arab aristocracy whose selfish interest had contributed greatly to the country's ruin. The place of 'Arab aristocracy was taken by a small group of middle class, which had amassed wealth through the development of industry and trade, and also by a feudal aristocracy of military commanders. Like the Abbasids, the Khalīfah also sought to protect his realm by an army of foreign mercenaries and employed Christian slaves and Berbers instead of the Arabs in the service of the state. All these foreigners serving in the army or in the *ḥaram* irrespective of their origin were known as Ṣaqālibahs (Slavs)[2] because the majority of them originally hailed from the Slav countries of Europe. The Slavs were prisoners or sold in their infancy by the tribes of north-eastern Europe and brought by way of Verdun, Marseilles and Pechina (Almeria) to Cordova. The structure of 'Arab aristocracy and tribalism

1. Unlike the Roman slaves the Umayyad slaves and eunuchs in Spain enjoyed influence and rose to distinctive posts. They served the State in various capacities. The Amir or Caliph depended entirely on the slaves who served in the army, cultivated his wide estates and worked as *ḥaram* servants. They further helped the rulers in the administration of the country holding high posts.
2. Originally this term (Sp. *esclavo*) was applied to the Slavonic prisoners sold by the Germans to Muslims. *Cf.* Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 430.

was broken. The Turks of the East had their counterparts in Spain in these *Ṣaqālibahs* who composed the entire royal body-guard of 12,000 chosen foreigners. Some 8,000 of them were horsemen whose mounts had magnificent trappings and they themselves wore uniforms of the finest silk. His cavalry was mounted on mules and horses on the occasion of an official visit made by Jean de Gorze, an ambassador of Germany. The horses having belts of pure gold excelled in splendour those of the Christian Kings. The Khalīfah had at his command 150,000 regular and an unlimited number of irregular troops. Many rose to important commands in the army. Some of them amassed large fortunes in trade while others were noted for scholarly attainments. The primary object for most of the soldiers for joining his army was more materialistic than religious.

Birth of a Nation :—The Arabs, the Spaniards and the Berbers were all completely vanquished and an absolute monarchical form of government was established. The 'Arab nobles were condemned and removed from their dominant positions while the Spaniards, who were more tired of the 'Arab nobility than of Muslim rule, were consoled. If they had no other satisfaction, they were at least relieved from the contemptuous treatment and the oppression of the 'Arab nobles and no longer constituted a people apart. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III fused all the races of the country into a veritable nation. Thus the old racial distinctions were removed and personal capacity was emphasised. This equality of races was enforced by his strong rule which, however, bore bitter fruit in the days to come. Edwyn Hole observes, "The people over whom the Caliph ruled were far from forming homogeneous compound, but when he ascended the throne there were already some signs of growing Andalusian consci-

ousness, not yet advanced enough to be called national, but making progress in that direction during his long and victorious reign. There were still many sharp divisions of race and creed and casts and bitter antipathies that obstructed the development of a corporate sense."[1] The Caliph was so liberal in his outlook that once he wished to confer the post of Chief Qāḍī of Cordova on a neo-Muslim whose parents were still Christians and the theologians found much difficulty in dissuading him. He appointed Najdah, a neo-Muslim Slav General, to command the soldiers in the battle of Alhandega (al-Khandaq) against the Zamorans in 327/938-9. It was because of his encouragement the Jews and Christians took prominent part in cultural activities during his time.

Character :—The secret of the greatness of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III lay in his extraordinary administrative capacity. Appreciating his achievements modern historians opine that what excites the admiration and wonder of the students of this glorious reign is not so much the work achieved as the workman himself.[2] He possessed the qualities of leadership—resoluteness, daring and industry—and proved himself the man of hour. Al-Maqqarī says that he was the mildest and most enlightened sovereign that ever ruled a country. "His meekness, his generosity, and his love of justice became proverbial."[3] Towards the end of his rule 'Abd al-Raḥmān III is said to have been more autocratic. His intellectual grasp allowed nothing to escape his attention. Like Shershāh of India he personally looked after the minute details of administration. His ideas were typical of a modern monarch rather than those

1. *Andalus*, p. 47.
2. Cf. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 447.
3. Maqqari (Gayangos), II, p. 147.

of a medieval ruler. By the reduction of lawful taxes and the abolition of unauthorishd taxes he won public sympathy. He was tolerant and was only with great difficulty dissuaded from appointing a neo-Muslim to the highest judicial office of the kingdom. Churches were allowed to be built and bells were rung to call the congregation to worship. He established a kind of political equilibrium and invited men of every religion to his councils. The K͟halīfah raised the standard of the living of the people and spent his surplus revenue on useful as well as decorative public works. The histories of the time are full of anecdotes which illustrate his love of justice and his respect for the learned. The Qāḍī Mund͟hir b. Sa'id al-Ballūṭī (878-965 A. C.), the most learned theologian of his days, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rabihi, the author of the *‘Iqd* (Necklace) *al-Farīd*, and K͟halaf ibn ‘Abbād al-Zahrawī, the celebrated physician, graced his court and the University of Cordova which was established by the K͟halīfah and which became the intellectual centre of the Western world.

CHAPTER X

ḤAKAM II (961-76 A. C.)

Succession :—'Abd al-Raḥmān III was succeeded by his son al-Ḥakam II who had been his chief assistant in the Government. The Caliph assumed the throne-name of al-Mustanṣir billāh. He retained the ministers of his father and appointed Ja'far al-Aṣqalabī, a Slav, as his ḥājib (prime minister). Al-Ḥakam II was about forty-six years of age at the time of his accession. For some years before his father's death, he had taken an active part in the administration of the state and according to Mas'ūdī his fame as a just and wise prince had already spread into distant lands; he had not, however, shown any military talent. Soon after his accession the Christians of the North rose against him.

Repulsion of Christian Raids :—Sancho and Garcia, the kings of Leon and Navarre respectively, had made treaties with 'Abd al-Raḥmān III but they broke them after his death. Sancho refused to surrender the fortresses and Garcia to hand over his prisoner Ferdinand (Fernan Gonzalez), who had forced his daughter to divorce Ordoño IV an ally of the Umayyads of Cordova, to al-Ḥakam. Sancho and Garcia thought that al-Ḥakam, who was more interested in literary activities than military pursuits, would not insist on the terms of the treaties and even if he did declare war he would not have equalled his father's military achievements. At the same time Fernan Gonzalez, Count of Castile, resumed his raids. But al-Ḥakam proved himself equal to the task and showed that

a scholar could also be a soldier. Like his predecessor, whose policy he followed, he did not remain a passive spectator of events in northern Spain. In February 972 he himself led the first expedition against Gonzalez and expelled the Christians across the Muslim frontiers.

Submission of Christian Kings :—On his return from this expedition he was visited by the wicked Ordoño IV of Leon who had been ousted by Sancho with the help of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. He was escorted to al-Zahrā' by 'Ubayd Allāh ('Abd Allāh) ibn Qāsim, the Metropolitan of Seville and received honourably. He implored the Khalīfah to help him against his cousin Sancho. Al-Ḥakam II promised to give him help and ordered his general Ghālib to install him on the throne of Leon. Ordoño bound himself to live at peace with the Muslims, to send his son Garcia as a hostage, and never to join with the rebel Gonzalez.

Finding his position extremely precarious Sancho, who was not liked by his subjects, submitted and in fulfilment of the clause of previous treaty surrendered the fortresses. Preferring Sancho to Ordoño, Ḥakam went back on the promise he had made to the latter but the former proved himself faithless again and refused to abide by the terms of the treaty when his rival Ordoño died, it is said, of broken heart at Cordova about 962 A. C. War was, therefore, resumed against the Christian chiefs. Ghālib, the governor of Medinaceli, in command of a large force, was despatched to Castile. He defeated a strong body of the Galicians and captured the important fortress of San Estevan de Gormaz. Yaḥyā, son of Muḥammad Tujībī, the governor of Saragossa, joined Ghālib and the combined forces of Yaḥyā and Ghālib invaded the country of the Basques, defeated Garcia, the

Navarrese chief, and captured Calahorra. The border towns of Catalonia were attacked and destroyed. The principal cities were taken by storm, fortified and garrisoned. Sancho then submitted. Gonzalez of Castile and Garcia of Navarre also submitted in 966 A. C. Their example was followed by their confederates, the Counts, Borrel and Miron. The Christian chiefs of Catalonia, the Count of Barcelona and the Catalan Lords entered into treaties with Ḥakam, agreed to destroy all the fortresses and towers in the vicinity of the Muslim frontier and promised to give no help to the Christians in their wars with the Muslims. This successful campaign ended in the subjugation of all the Christian princes of the North.[1] Sancho, while negotiating with al-Ḥakam for peace, attacked Galicia but he was poisoned by his enemy, Count Gonsalvo, at a conference held on the bank of the Douro towards the close of the year 966 A. D. His son Ramiro, a child of five years, and his aunt Elvira could not save the kingdom from being split up into several parts and ravaged by the Danes.[2] Thus the weakened Leonese were not able to take up arms against al-Ḥakam II. In 971 Borrel, the Count of Barcelona, sent a present of thirty slaves to Ḥakam II and the following year when the Castillian ruler did not abide by the terms of the frontier truce concluded with him, his mission was arrested at Cordova. In 975 an attempt was made by the kings of Leon, Castile and Navarre to assert their independence but they were defeated by Ghālib.

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 453; *Muslim Colonies*, pp. 158-159.
2. Duke Richard I of Normandy had eight thousand Danes in his army when he did not need them he sent them to Spain. They ravaged Galicia for three years. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 454 & *Recherches* (1881), pp. 294sq.

War with the Fāṭimids and the Ṣanhājahs:—The danger from North Africa was averted with equal skill. The rival Fāṭimid Khalīfahs wanted to unite the whole of Muslim world under their rule. They had engaged agents to mingle with the fanatics in the cities of Spain and sow seeds of hatred among them. Fāṭimid spies infiltrated into the ranks of the army and even in the court and chamber of al-Ḥakam. The Fāṭimid peril, however, seemed to have disappeared with the removal of the Fāṭimid capital to Cairo in 972. The Fāṭimid influence declined in the region from Tunisia to Morocco. By the Umayyad expedition under general Ghālib in 972 and 974, some of the lost places were recovered.

The Fāṭimid caliph's representatives, the Ṣanhājahs, resumed the fight with the vassals of the Umayyads in North Africa. The chief of the petty Idrisid dynasty which ruled the region of Tangier and Arzila was the nominal vassal of the Umayyads. Abū'l Fatḥ, the Fāṭimid representative, invaded the dominion of the last Idrisid ruler Ḥasan ibn Ghannūn and compelled him to transfer his allegiance from the Khalīfah of Cordova to that of Cairo. Umayyad ships and troops fought two engagements with the Fāṭimid viceroy and defeated him in the first encounter, but were vanquished in the second. The Umayyad general, Ibn Tumlus, fell on the battle-field. As a result the Umayyad vassals in Mauretania renounced their allegiance and joined Ḥasan. Only a few fortified towns remained in the possession of al-Ḥakam II.

In 972 A. C. al-Ḥakam II sent an expedition into Mauretania to stem the tide of Fāṭimid conquest under the command of Ghālib, who landed at Qaṣr-i-Maṣmūdah between Ceuta and Tangier. By an adroit use of force Ghālib broke up the concentration of the Berbers on the Mediterranean coast and

avoided a serious engagement. Ghālib spent large sums of money in giving presents and offering gifts to the officers and supporters of Ibn Ghannūn. To control finance and to administer justice al-Ḥakam sent Ibn Abī 'Āmir, the master of the Cordova mint, about whom we shall learn more later with the military general Yaḥya ibn Muḥammad to Mauretania. The resistance of Ḥasan bin Ghannūn was long but ultimately he was forced to submit in February 974. He was caught in his stronghold at Ḥajarat al-Naṣr and put into prison at Cordova and later exiled to Tunisia from where he went to Alexandria. The Berber tribes of Zanātah, Maghrawah and Miknāsah transferred their allegiance from the Khalīfah of Cairo to that of Cordova. After establishing peace in and around Andalucia, al-Ḥakam was able to devote himself to his favourite pursuit of literature and science.

Death :—The good and virtuous Khalīfah al-Ḥakam reigned for only about 16 years and died at the age of sixty-one on the 3rd Ṣafar 366/30th September 976. Before his death he had nominated his only surviving son Hishām, a youth of twelve, as his successor, and appointed Muṣḥafī and Ibn Abī 'Āmir Muḥammad as his guardians.

Achievements :—His achievements were comprehensive. Throughout his reign the Iberian peninsula saw the cultivation of arts and sciences with great success. He established peace within the country and guarded the frontiers from the attacks of the Christians and the Fāṭimids. Ḥakam revived the office of *ḥājib* which had been abolished by his father in the second half of his reign. Ḥakam was, however, more known for the development of learning and culture. Modern conceptions of cleanliness, drainage system, use of soap, heating of rooms, street lighting, use of handkerchiefs are taken from the Muslims,

the proponents of these having been Umayyad rulers like, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II and Ḥakam II. While soap and cosmetics were used in the ḥaram of Ḥakam II, the Europeans rarely had baths even once in several months. The manners, courtesy and sense of perception of the Muslims infiltrated into European society and learning. The tournaments of valour and vigour which were common during Ḥakam's time are still to be seen in European civilization of today. During his time the knights of Europe came to learn the tasks with the 'Arab cavalry. Ḥakam's achievements may be summarised broadly under the following headings :

Institutions of Learning :—Al-Ḥakam II was a scholar and a patron of learning. He appointed his brother Mundhir as general supervisor of the institutions of learning. Under him the University of Cordova flourished. It was rivalled later only by al-Azhar of Cairo and the Niẓāmiyah of Baghdād. It attracted students, Christians, Jews and Muslims alike, not only from Spain but also from other parts of Europe, Africa and Asia.[1] In the capital there were established twenty-seven free schools, where the children of the poor could receive education. Out of which three schools flourished in the neighbourhood of the Chief Mosque and twenty-four in the suburbs of Cordova to impart free education. These schools were maintained with the taxes collected from the saddler's quarter of the *bazar* in Cordova. For the rich new academies were opened. No town, however small, was without its schools and each principal city possessed separate institution for higher study. The institutions of Seville, Malaga, Saragossa and Jaen copied the Institution of Cordova and later came to achieve distinctions. A large orphanage was maintained at Cordova and many such

1. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 530.

institutions flourished in a number of other towns. As a result the majority of the Spaniards could read and write. Rich endowments attracted professors and scholars from abroad, and students from other parts of Europe and also from the African and Asiatic countries. The reign of Ḥakam II was the golden age of Spain in learning and scholarship and Cordova was the centre of this activity. A large library containing valuable books and rare manuscripts was attached to the University of Cordova. During the time of Ḥakam II the general level of culture in Andalucia was so high that "nearly every one could read and write, whilst in Christian Europe only a few ever acquired learning and that also mostly from among the clergy."[1] Nicholson quoting Qazwīnī says that if someone asked even a labourer behind the plough for some verses, he would "improvise verses on any subject you might demand."[2] Cordova, it is said, was the same to Europe as the head to the body and what Europeans learnt, was mostly from Cordova. Ḥakam raised the level of civilization in Spain to such a height that Cordova served as a beacon in the darkness which then prevailed in Europe. It was described as an ornament of the world by a tenth century German poet, Hrotswitha.[3]

Professors of the University of Cordova :—The Khalīfah invited professors from the East to the University of Cordova and set aside endowments for their salaries. Among its professors were the most renowned grammarian and historian of Baghdād, Abū Bakr ibn al-Qūṭiyah, who taught grammar and history and the erudite philologist of Baghdād, Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (d. 967), who lectured on the proverbs, language, poetry

1. *Some Aspects*, p. 184.
2. Cf. Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, p. 57.
3. Levi-Provencal, *La civilizacion arabe en España*, p. 101.

and curious anecdotes concerning the ancient Arabs and whose *Amālī*, a book on dictation is still studied by students of Arabic. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Ābd al-'Udhrī was the chief physician at al-Ḥakam's court and Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, the famous scholar and author of the celebrated *Kitāb* al-*'Ayn*, one of the best Arabic dictionaries, was the tutor of his son Prince Hishām. The faqīh Abū Ibrāhīm graced the University of Cordova and Abū Bakr ibn Mu'āwiyah delivered lectures on the *ḥadīth*, theology, Qur'anic laws, etiquetes and oriental sciences. The professors of other subjeets were also renowned personalities.

Libraries :—Al-Ḥakam II and his brother 'Abd-Allāh had built up large libraries of their own during their father's life-time and al-Ḥakam now amalgamated these libraries with the one left by his father and spent vast sums of money on the purchase of valuable and rare books. He was a genuine bibliophile. His agents, for example Fāṭimah, ransacked the book-shops and libraries of distant towns like Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus and Baghdād with a view to buying or copying ancient and modern manuscripts. It is stated that no gift was so acceptable to the Khalīfah as was a rare manuscript. As a result his library possessed the biggest collection that a royal library had ever owned in the medieval world. Some chroniclers put the number of the Mss. that his library contained at 600,000 and at least, no historian has considered the figure of 400,000 to be an exaggerated one.[1] Contemporary 'Arab

1. Cf. J. McCabe, *Splendour of Moorish Spain*, p. 80. The royal library of Egypt contained during the time of al-'Aziz (d. 996 A. C.) only 200,000 books half of that of the library of Cordova. *Cf.* Maqrīzī, I, p. 408. The royal library of the Abbasids is said to have contained valuable collections but the exact figure is not known. The library of

scholars have spoken highly of the library of Ḥakam II, its huge collections and its rare and valuable books.[1]

According to Maqqarī and Ibn Khaldūn the unfinished catalogue of the Imperial Library extended to forty-four volumes, each of which comprised twenty to fifty sheets which contained only the names of authors and the titles of books.

Ḥakam II appointed his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz to be incharge of the royal library and another brother of his, Mundhir, was in-charge of the department of education. Often he himself presided over conferences of learned men of his kingdom. The chief librarian was a eunuch named Tālid.[2] The bookcases were made of polished and perfumed wood. Golden inscriptions indicated the contents of the shelves and several rooms in the palace were set apart for the work of copying, illuminating, gilding and binding books for which the most skilful persons of both sexes were employed. Public libraries were founded in all the important cities of the country

Mustansariyah College contained 80,000 volumes in 1232 A. C. *Cf.* Author's paper, *Hispano 'Arab Libraries, Books and Manuscripts* in J. P. H. S., VII, Karachi, 1959, p. 106. Edwyn Hole (*Andalus*, 38 nl) observes, "Hakam's library is said to have contained four hundred thousand books and manuscripts. Four hundred years later, King Charles the Wise of France designing to adorn his capital with a library could only lay his hands on nine hundred books, of which six hundred treated of theology."

1. Even after the destruction of its royal and private libraries, Cordova, according to Ibn Rushd, still possessed in the 12th century more books than any other city of Spain. While making a comparative study of the importance of Cordova and Seville, Ibn Rushd remarks interestingly that on the death of a learned man in Seville, his books were sent to Cordova and his instruments were put on sale in Seville. Cf. Maqqari, I, p. 302.

2, Cf. J. McCabe, *Splendour of Moorish Spain*, 81; Ribera, *Disertaciones*, I, 193.

and were run at the expense of the state. According to Ballestros, in Cordova alone there were seventy public libraries.[1]

Collection of Books :—Al-Ḥakam II converted Cordova into a great book market where the literary productions of every country were available for sale. Copying shops, sometimes with staffs of women, were set up, and the bookshops had as brisk business as jewellery stalls and silk shops. In a town where there were 20,000 bookshops, what would have been the quantity of paper manufactured in the country of that town, surely it would have been thousands of tons. Instead of using the parchment or papyrus of the Romans, the Arabs used paper of their own manufacture. This increased production of books and lowered their cost to the benefit of literary and scientific studies.

The litterateur and lexicographer Muḥammad b. Abi al-Ḥusayn al-Fihrī of Cordova and another Arabic scholar Muḥammad b. Ma'mar of Jaen were among the famous scholars employed by Ḥakam II for the collection of manuscripts and for copying rare books in his library. Among other famous copyists were Yūsuf al-Ballūṭī. Abu'l Faḍl b. Hārūn of Sicily (d. 379/989-90), 'Abbās b. 'Amar of Sicily and Ẓafar of Baghdād. Among the private collections of books, the library of Ibn Futais of Cordova ranked the first. It was sold by public auction for 40,000 dinars in the early part of the 11th century. Foreign scholars were also employed to collect books for the caliph. Among them mention may be made of Ibn Saban of Egypt, Ibn Ya'qūb al-Kindi of Baghdād and several others like Muḥammad ibn Farjan.[2] Labbānah

1. MacCabe, p. 81; Cf. Author's paper, *Hispano 'Arab libraries, Books and Manuscripts* in J. P. H. S., VII, Karachi, 1959, p. 108.
2. Cf. S. M. Imamnddin, Memoir 4, *Hispano-Arab Libraries,* Karachi, 1961, pp. 4-5.

(d. 394/1004), a chief secretary to Talid, the librarian of Ḥakam's library and later secretary to Ḥakam II himself and Fāṭimah, a learned and elegant writer, travelled to many lands in search of rare manuscripts and added valuable books to the collection of royal library.

A premium was offered to every noted writer. The publication of original works was encouraged by munificent donations, and every attempt was made to obtain the first copy. The works of distinguished authors were transmitted to Cordova even from the distant lands—Egypt, Greece, Syria, Persia. The reward for a composition of unusual merit in some cases amounted to the enormous figure of a thousand pieces of gold. In order to obtain the first copy of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a history of 'Arab poets and minstrels, which Abū'l Faraj Isfahānī, an Umayyad historian and poet, was then composing in al-'Irāq, al-Ḥakam sent him a thousand dīnārs. Abū'l Faraj was glad to send the copy to him together with a work on the genealogy of the Umayyads. Many works were dedicated to Ḥakam II by distinguished writers. Among such works were a *Memoir on Calendar*, the *Kitāb Awqāt al-Sanat*, composed by Abu'l Ḥasan 'Arīb b. Sa'īd (d. *cerca* 980-1) in 961 and the *Ta'rīkh Quḍat al-Qurṭubah* written by Muḥammad b. Ḥarith b. Asad al-Khushanī of Qayrawān (d. 361/971) settled in Spain. The famous historian Ibn al-Qūṭiyah (d. 977) wrote a dynastic history of the Umayyads in Spain. Ibn Zamanīn (d. 1007-9 A. D.) wrote many works on theology for Ḥakam's library. Among other writers who dedicated their works to the Caliph were Ibn Mufarraj of Fonteaurea (Cordova), Muṭarrif b. 'Isā (d. 377/987) of Elvira and Muḥammad Yūsuf of Guadalajara. Aḥmad b. Faraj of Jaen compiled an anthology of poems under the title *al-Ḥadā'iq* (the enclosed) and dedicated it to him. Al-Zubaydī (d. 989), the

tutor of his son Hishām, was known for his works on poems. Ibn al-Safar was employed to collect poems referring to the Umayyads of Syria and Spain.[1] Books were also composed on the epistle, a form of belles-lettres (fine prose) widely practised by secretaries in official correspondence but they are not extant.

Al-Ḥakam a Scholar and Patron of Learning :—Al-Ḥakam II was not merely a collector of books, but he was also a serious scholar. Ibn al-Abbār expressed his astonishment on the writings of Ibn al-Faraḍī and Ibn Bashkuwāl that they recorded the learned men of Ḥakam's time without taking notice of the learning of the Caliph himself.

The patronage of the Caliph and nobles had attracted a large number of learned men including physicians, philosophers, historians, geographers, astronomers and mathematicians to live in Cordova. The Aristocrats and the elites of the city copied Ḥakam II in building up libraries and laying out gardens. Cordova was a city of bureaucracy and culture.

No monarch, of whom history makes mention, equalled him in his knowledge. His teachers in the various sciences were Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh, Aḥmad ibn Dahim. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Khushanī, Zakariyā ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Thābit ibn Qāsim. The Khalīfah was so fond of reading that he preferred it to all other pleasures. He not only read the books in his library but also made copious bibliographical notes on the flyleaves of all the manuscripts which he went through.[2] According to Ibn al-Abbār he is said to have been

1. Cf. Imamuddin, Memoir no. 4 *Hispano-Arab Libraries*, Karachi, 1961, p. 5.
2. A manuscript of Ḥakam's library dated 359/970 with the note that it was copied for Ḥakam II was discovered in Fez by Levi-Provencal (d. 1956); Cf. *Hisperis*, XVIII, 1934, pp. 198-200 quoted in *La Civilizacion Arabes en España* by Levi-Provencal, p. 87 n 21.

familiar with the contents of almost all the books of his library.[1] Thus he increased his learning considerably and surpassed the learned men of his time in the knowledge of history, biography and genealogy. He was a historian of approved merit and an impartial critic. His historical information was so accurate and his judgment so profound that his opinions were hardly ever questioned by the great scholars of the Muslim world. He also wrote a good historical work on Spain but unfortunately it perished.

His generosity towards Spanish as well as foreign scholars, scientists and philosophers, was unbounded and he encouraged philosophers and protected them from the persecution of the bigots. Ḥakam II patronized and respected scholars and theologians. Once while Abu Ibrāhīm was delivering a lecture on theology in the Chief Mosque of Cordova, the Caliph sent for him. Abū Ibrāhīm informed him that he was then busy with some good work. The Caliph appreciated his stand and ordered his appearance before him after completing his lecture. The Faqīh replied that he was so weak and old that he could neither walk on foot for long nor ride a horse and asked the reporter to get open the rarely-opened connecting gate, Bāb al-Ṣana, between the Palace and the Mosque. After imparting his lesson when Ibrāhīm entered the Palace he found the Caliph with his ministers awaiting his arrival. This impressed Ibrāhīm greatly. He was welcomed cordially and rewarded richly.

Works of translation and original composition continued. Greek works on philosophy were translated. The works of Socrates and Plato were appreciated. A bureau was appointed to translate the works of Aristotle and Euclid. Several books were written on geology. Agricultural colleges were started.

1. Gayangos, II, p. 170.

Books were written on botany and several experiments were made in connection with the study of disease and growth of plants. Researches were made in the medical science and important works were written on medicine. Abu'l Qāsim is known for his work on the science of operation called *al-Tasrif*. The science of medicine was advanced beyond the point at which the Greeks had left it seven centuries earlier. Minarets were constructed to serve as observatory towers for studying the movements of stars and researches were made in the field of geography and cartography. Ibn Firnās a great scientist prepared a dress with the help of furs by using which one could fly. He himself flew by wearing it but due to failure in maintaining balance he fell down to receive a fatal wound. A self-moving clock was also introduced by one named Abitar.

The accumulated wisdom of Africa, Asia, and Europe was found at Cordova. It is recorded that the general level of learning in Andalucia was so high at this time that "nearly everyone could read and write, whilst in Christian Europe only a very few ever acquired education and that too, mostly from the members of the clergy."[1] Relations with the Byzantines and Christian rulers of North Spain and other south-western parts of Europe, toleration of Jewish scholars, and access to Greek and Latin source enabled Muslim Spain to form her own cultural blend.

Public Works :—The Khalīfah took keen interest in public works as well. The highways were repaired. Wells and fountains for the wayfarers were provided along the road. Large inns were built at intervals approximately at the end of one day's journey by road. There were constructed hostels for the poor, hospitals

1. Cf. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 455; McCabe, pp. 81, 185; Scott, III, pp. 656-7.

for the sick and schools for the young. The capital as well as the provincial towns were provided with all amenities of life as public baths, inns, markets, fountains, hospitals and other works of public utility. The Khalīfah urged his people to maintain the gardens they had in their courtyards or around their houses and he himself was often seen working in his own royal garden.

Embellishments of Cordova Mosque :—Al-Ḥakam II was also a lover of art and architecture. The Great Mosque was renovated and extended and the south wall built during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I was demolished and rebuilt in order to lengthen the original eleven naves. A maqṣūrah enlivened with interlaced arches and a dome like China bowl to perform his devotions in seclusion unperceived by the congregation was built for the Caliph's use. In front of it an octagonal miḥrāb was constructed and the space on either side of the miḥrāb was decorated with mosaic work and the upper part of the miḥrāb itself with ceramic tiles. Baghdadian influence is visible in the additions made to the Mosque during his time. With the ornate arches and the miḥrāb's decoration the Mosque reached its peak of artistic achievement and with it the creative period of the Moorish art ended. Baghdadian influence is visible in the additions made to the Mosque during his time. The Caliph requested Niceforo Focas to send a specialist from Greece in mosaic work in order to beautify the extended part of the Cordova Mosque. He received 325 cubes of mosaic material as a present from Constantinople which had a great effect on the architects, the sculptors and the mosaic workers of Cordova and Madīnat al-Zahrā. This explains the Byzantine influence on the decorative arts of certain buildings constructed at Cordova in the latter part of the 10th century.[1] A marvellous piece of wood-

1. *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1965, p 173.

work was the *minbar* (pulpit) which was constructed of 36,000 pieces of ivory, ebony, timber and aromatic wood studded with precious stones and plastered with gold nails which took seven years to complete and cost the Caliph 35,707 dinars[1] and the total expenditure on the Mosque rose to 261,000 dinars. He had two big fountains of solid rock cut in the quarry of Cordova for the Chief Mosque. Water was brought through the aqueduct and lead pipes from the streams of the Sierra of Cordova. The remnants of the hydraulic works of his time are still seen today.

Character :—Al-Ḥakam was a just and enlightened ruler who reduced the taxes imposed upon the provinces. He attended public worship every Friday and distributed alms to the poor, observed the religious rites strictly and enforced the precepts of the *sunnah* throughout his dominion. The use of wine at weddings and other festivities were forbidden by him. Grape wine in spite of the opposition of Ḥakam II was in great demand throughout Spain. According to 'Arīb b. Sa'īd, drinks used to be distilled in April from roses, violets and *s͟hahtaraj*, in May from apples, *al-s͟ha'bi* and *k͟has͟hk͟has͟h*, in July from apples and pears and in August from k͟has͟hk͟has͟h and pomegranates.[2] The Caliph encouraged the study of astronomy and mathematics. He also encouraged the study of philosophy which, however, was not liked by the orthodox Muslims. Orthodox and free thinkers were equally welcomed at his court.

He was tolerant and did not interfere with the religious freedom of his people. Al-Mund͟hir ibn Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī, one of the important figures of the Zahirite flourished during his time. He was the chief judge of Cordova from 950 till

1. 1 dīnār = 13½ shillings.
2. *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and cultural History of Muslim Spain*, p. 106,

his death in 956. The Caliph did not allow monopoly to the Malikites but allowed the qāḍī to hold the Zahirite view at least on secondary matters. Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Antaki an expert in the text of the Qura'n and preacher of the Shāfi'ite rite settled in Cordova in 963.[1] But because of Malikite opposition he could not do much. Experts in Shāfi'ite jurisprudence continued to come from Qayrawān and other places and the tradition of scholarship in various branches of the religious sciences was maintained and the Sunnite intellectual traditions of East were established.

Ḥakam II reduced the military and extraordinary taxes throughout his empire by one-sixth.[2] He utilized to the utmost the natural resources of the country. Agriculture was further advanced. Rice newly introduced in Spain was cultivated on the river banks of Spain as we learn from the account of Ḥakam's secretary 'Arīb b. Sa'īd. Industries were also developed further. Like his father, Ḥakam II patronized textile industries. Valuable deposits of ore were mined for the development of industry and commerce and the country became rich and prosperous. In short, the reign of al-Ḥakam II represented the golden age of the Muslims in Spain. He appointed Slav Fā'iq al-Niẓāmī the head of the manufacture of ṭirāz and another Slav Jawdhar as in charge of embroidery work. These were the two favourite servants in whose arms Ḥakam II died.

1. Ibn al-Faraḍī, No. 132.
2. Levi-Provencal, II, 168, III, 38.

CHAPTER XI

ḤĀJIB AL-MANṢŪR (976-1002 A. C.)

Hishām's Accession :—Al-Ḥakam II was succeeded by his son al-Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad on the 2nd October 976 A. C. He was only twelve years[1] of age at that time. The Slavs opposed the accession of Hishām and wanted to put his uncle al-Mughīrah on the throne but they were crushed and al-Mughīrah was killed at the instigation of Abū'l Ḥasan Ja'far bin 'Uthmān al-Muṣḥafī, the Prime Minister. As the new Khalīfah was a minor the affairs of the State were guided by his mother, the queen regent Sulṭānah Ṣubḥ,[2] who was a Basque by birth, and had been called Aurora (Dawn) by the Christians.

Rise of Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad :—The reign of Hishām II witnessed the inauguration of the hereditary despotism of the 'Amirids.[3] The Khalīfah was confined in his palace and deprived of all political powers. The circumstances which led to this state of affairs after the death of al-Ḥakam II although complicated are well known. The founder of this 'Āmirid despotism was Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Āmir who rose from a very low position to the post of premier mainly due to his own effort. His mother was Burayha, daughter of the magistrate Yaḥyā ibn

1. Dozy, p. 467 ; Hishām was born in 965 A. C. According to Scott (Vol. I, p. 667), he was 14 years of age at the time of his accession.
2. Dozy, p. 467 : Aurora.
3. The descendants of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr confined Hishām and ruled in his name,

Zakariyā ibn Barṭāl al-Tamīmī. His forefathers were men of letters and highly respected in the court. According to Ibn al-'Abbās and Maqqarī[1] his great-great-grandfather 'Abd al-Malik al-Ma'āfiri,[2] a Yamanite, came to Spain along with Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and settled at Torrox in the province of Algeciras. His father Abū Ḥafṣ 'Abd Allāh was a jurist noted for his knowledge and piety, who died at Tripoli or Arkada in Ifrīqīyah on his way back from the ḥajj (pilgrimage) towards the close of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.

Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad was born about 942 A. C. In his youth he went to Cordova and settled there. From his earliest days he had been cherishing great political ambitions. While still a student he was confident of his intelligence, sagacity and diplomacy and predicted that one day he would be master of Andalusia. He passed the law examination from the University of Cordova and began to earn his living as a court-writer of petitions to Muḥammad al-Salīm, the qāḍī of Cordova. He established his office close to the gate of the Palace of al-Ḥakam II. He was introduced to Sulṭānah Ṣubḥ by one of her eunuchs who was very intimate with Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad. As a result he was appointed steward of the estate of her elder son 'Abd al-Raḥmān in February 967 on a monthly salary of fifteen dīnārs.[3] He was then twenty-six years of age. The

1. Maqqarī (Gayangos), Vol. I, p. 178.
2. Manṣūr was eighth in descent from 'Abd al-Malik :—'Abd al-Malik, Yazīd, al-Walīd, Abu 'Āmir Muḥammad, Amir 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Abd Allāh, Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad.
3. In the 10th century twenty dinars (about £42) were enough for the maintenance of a modest family at Mosul for a year the price of one pound of wheat being 2.4 dirhams in 960. *Cf.* Hole, *Andalus*, p. 71 ; Al-Duri, p. 246 n. About this time the living in Spain was cheaper than that in Mosul (Cf Kramer, Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 114).

Queen later on appointed him the steward of her personal property. Shortly afterwards he was promoted to the office of the collector of tithes and inheritance duties at Seville. Next he was appointed superintendent of the mint at Cordova and he caused a model palace of silver to be wrought for his patron, Sulṭānah Ṣubḥ, and won the heart of many nobles including Ibn Abū Aflāḥ, an influential client of al-Ḥakam II, by bestowing generous presents and giving handsome bribes.[1] The wazīr ibn Ḥudayr offered him money secretly to make up the shortage when he was charged with embezzlement. Thus his accusers were put to shame and disgrace. In 361/972 he was appointed Ṣāḥib al-shurṭah (police officer) of Cordova. As a prefect of Cordova city he worked with zeal and impartiality. By dint of merits as well as flattery he rose to a high position and at the age of thirty-one he held five to six important and lucrative posts.

He was next appointed Controller General of Finance and the Chief Qāḍī in Mauretania. He crossed over to Africa and made himself familiar with military and provincial administration. He negotiated with General Ghālib and reduced the heavy expenses of the army then fighting in Morocco against Ḥasan b. Ghannūn a Fāṭimid vassal. Abū 'Āmir successfully carried out the task entrusted to him. Ghālib later gave him his daughter 'Āṣmah in marriage. This matrimonial alliance helped him to assume power.

Such was his position when al-Ḥakam II died. The way for his further rise was paved by the Christians who considered the succession of a boy to be a good opportunity for ravaging the adjacent Muslim provinces. Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad set out from Cordova in Rajab 366/Feb. 977, repulsed the

1. Dozy, *Spanish Islam,* p. 461.

Christians and returned to the capital laden with booty. This added greatly to his popularity in Cordova.

Abū 'Āmir's Relation with the Courtiers :—With the help of his father-in-law, Ghālib, Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad overthrew Ḥājib Ja'far ibn 'Uthmān al-Muṣḥafī and the other nobles who were opposed to his ascendancy. He dealt a final blow to the royal Slavonic body-guard who liked Ghālib more than him, and substituted for it a new unit of loyal Berber and Christian mercenaries who were attached to Abū 'Āmir and not to the State. Now his only opponent remaining on the stage was General Ghālib who luckily was killed in a battle against the Christians. He next reduced the young Khalīfah to impotence by encouraging him in sexual indulgences and confined him in his palace and prohibited the State officials from paying visits to the Khalīfah except on festive occasions. He was cut off from outside contacts by removing the administration from the Umayyad palace Alcazar in Cordova to the newly built city Madīnat al-Zāhirah.

By now Sulṭānah Ṣubḥ had turned against Abū 'Āmir. Hishām II had also been inspired by her hatred against him. She turned abroad for aid to Zīrī ibn 'Aṭīyah the ruler of Morocco. However, Abū 'Āmir succeeded in persuading Hishām to issue a decree entrusting him with all affairs of State. The Queen Regent failing in her attempt to overthrow Abū 'Āmir retired from politics and devoted herself to poetry. Having removed his rivals from the path of his ascendancy, Abū 'Āmir became the unrivalled master of Spain. Hishām's name was no doubt struck on the coins but all orders and edicts were issued with the approval of Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad and the Khuṭbah was read in his name along with that of the Khalīfah in the mosques. Wisely he did not make any

attempt to claim the caliphal title itself. In short, he did everything possible to establish his despotism and later adopted the proud title of al-Manṣūr bi'llah (Sp. Almanzor). Though he was strong and efficient he was not more autocrat than the previous caliphs. Although himself an 'Arab by origin Manṣūr placed everywhere Berbers and Slavs in command to maintain his usurped power.

His Relation with the 'Ulama :—His former connection with Sulṭānah Ṣubḥ was the subject of much criticism in Cordova. People who had at first been favourably disposed towards the Ḥājib, later became hostile to him. The fuqahā', his bitterest enemies, accused him of irreligion. They united in a conspiracy to assassinate him along with the Khalīfah and to put another grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III on the throne. The plot was divulged and the conspirators were crucified or banished. In order to please the 'ulamā' and the jurists al-Manṣūr burnt the hectical books[1] mostly on philosophy in al-Ḥakam's library and exiled many philosophers. Further to gain their support he copied out the Qura'n with his own hand.

Reorganization of Military System :—After overthrowing the Prime Minister Muṣḥafī, al-Manṣūr wanted to get rid of the Commander-in-chief. His first step was to have control over the army. The army consisted mainly of the 'Arabs, Berbers and Spaniards. The foreign recruits of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had been gradually disbanded and substituted by native recruits during the time of al-Ḥakam II. Owing to the partiality and negligence of Ghālib, the army had lost its former discipline and had degenerated into an inefficient militia. During his

1. A horrible picture of this destruction is supplied to us by Sa'īd of Toledo. Cf. Levi-Provencal, *La Civilizacion Arabe en España*, p. 88 n22.

stay in North Africa, Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad had become convinced of the qualities of the Maghribī troops and now wanted to recruit them for his army. Many Berbers, who had been worsted in the recent Mauretanian wars and taken refuge in Ceuta, entered his army through the intervention of the governor of Ceuta. They were received at Cordova by al-Manṣūr and were furnished with the finest arms and horses. Encouraged by the news of this hospitality thousands of Berbers and Sudāni volunteers entered the army of the new ḥājib. The population of the metropolis because of the recruitment of the Berbers in the army increased so vastly in the town that Manṣūr had to enlarge the Grand Mosque of Cordova. The Berber soldiers were of two categories: the first consisted of regulars enrolled as soldiers and receiving salary called *murtaziqa*, and the second of volunteers receiving prizes and gratuities called *muttawi'a*.[1] Fifty years' civil war among the Christian chiefs of the North had destroyed the countries and impoverished the Leonese, Navarrese and Catalonians. Many of them had changed their masters and come to Cordova. As a result the Christians of the North like the Berbers, had accepted service in the Cordovan army in large numbers. The Muslim army had suffered because it had remained organised on a tribal basis. Al-Manṣūr substituted for the ancient tribal organization of the 'Arabs the regimental system, which 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had introduced but which had remained unimproved under al-Ḥakam II. To eliminate tribal jealousies Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad distributed the 'Arabs among the divisions of the Berber and Christian mercenaries. The favourite troops of Ghālib were thus scattered. Strict discipline was then enforced in the army and favourite officers of ability

1. *L'Espagne*, pp. 137-8.

were appointed generals. Ibn Abī 'Āmir thus raised a strong and well-disciplined army of foreign mercenaries on whose devotion he relied chiefly. The total strength of his army was six hundred thousand as was found on the occasion of an expedition into the North. These mercenary troops were disciplined and loyal to the State as long as there was a strong personality on the throne to control them. They created disturbances in the country during the period of decay of the Umayyads and ultimately shared in the destruction of the Empire. Manṣūr's army was well-disciplined because he was strict and an offence always met with condign punishment.

Military Expeditions :—Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad proved himself as successful in military affairs as in civil. Historians like Hitti rightly observes that the removal of the Fāṭimid capital to Cairo in 973 A. C. and the outbreak of civil strifes amomg the petty Christian kingdoms of the North afforded a good opportunity for his military enterprises in the north-west of the African coast and in the northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula.[1] The Galicians and the Basques had, soon after the death of Ḥakam II, revolted and resumed their raids against the Spanish Muslims. In 371/981 when Zamora was captured Ramiro III, the king of Leon, made an alliance with Garcia Fernandez, Count of Castile and Sancho Abarca, the king of Pamplona (Navarre). But all three were defeated by Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad's general at Rueda to the south-west of Simancas. Ṭarṭūshī mentions the story of an expedition led by Manṣūr against the Christians in which the actual battle started after single combats had taken place between champions of the two forces.[2] By a series of brilliant operation,

1. *History of the Arabs*, p. 532.
2. *L'Espagne*, pp. 147-8.

Manṣūr reduced Leon and Navarre to tributary states and garrisoned their capitals with his troops. Being victorious in the field against the Christians he adopted the title of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh in 981 A. C. In May 985 he again left Cordova for the North via Elvira, Baza and Murcia, where he was given a grand reception and feast for thirteen days by its chief Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. On reaching Catalonia he took Barcelona by storm on the 6th July 985 and sacked it and drove out Count Borrel. According to Ibn al-Abbār it was his twenty-third campaign. In 987 A. C. the Leonese again revolted under Bermudo II, the successor of Ramiro III. They were finally reduced in 988 A. C. and the boundaries of the Muslim empire of Spain extended to the Pyrenees again. In Mauretania, his arms were equally successful, and a large part of north-western Africa was reduced to subjection by his general 'Asqalajah when Ḥasan b. Ghannūn, the petty Idrisid ruler of Morocco, rebelled. Fifty camels of the best kind called *Mihriyah* were received as presents from Zīrī b. 'Aṭīyah of North Africa.

By his annual expeditions against the Christians of the North, Manṣūr renewed the fear in their hearts. Once Manṣūr landed his force on the hillock of a Christian town and planted his flag there. Some days after the army marched off leaving the flag intact. For a long time the flag remained planted on the hillock and no Christian soldiers dared to uproot it. Manṣūr's name frightened the enemies.

A considerable fleet was fitted out in 997 A. D. at Qaṣr Abī Dānish and provisioned and manned with skilful and experienced mariners and launched an attack on Galicia. Manṣūr came out successful in this bold attempt of an expedition by sea. He extended his rule over the coastal region of North-west Africa in the south and as far as the Cantabrian

Sea by capturing Leon and Santiago de Compostela in the north. The Umayyads adopted quasi-feudalistic measures in their dealings with the Christian kings of the north.

Al-Manṣūr purchased 8,000 horses every year and once he imported 1,000 horses from North Africa alone. He had 3,000 mares and 100 stallions in Madā'in, the river island of Seville. In the Munyat al-'Āmiriyah the studmaster reported to Manṣūr about the working and breeding of horses on his return from every expedition.[1] Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that Manṣūr purchased more than 3,000 mules in the short period of seven days only on the occasion of his expedition against Monte Mayor which speaks of the supply of animals in the region in abundance for military and other purposes.[2]

Death of Manṣūr :—On his way back on the 27th Ramaḍān 392/the 10th August 1002 from his last campaign against Rioja after devastating the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla this great general of sixty-one years breathed his last and was buried at Madīnat al-Sālim (Medinaceli).

Achievements and Character :—Al-Manṣūr was the most remarkable man of his age. After 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, he was the greatest warrior and statesman in Europe in the tenth century. He rose to power from obscurity mainly by dint of his own effort, intelligence, sagacity and diplomacy. While still a student he was confident of his qualities and predicted that one day he would be master of Andalusia. Manṣūr saved the Muslim empire of Spain from obscurity. He raised an efficient army personally devoted to him. By leading about fifty-seven campaigns, he humbled the Christians of Leon, Navarre and Barcelona. The Christians shuddered at

1. Gayangos, II, 218.
2. *A'māl*, p. 119.

his name. Those who attempted to break agreement met with severe reprisals. He never negotiated peace with his enemies but crushed them with an iron hand. Manṣūr was undoubtedly a man of genius and the predominant figure of his age.

Manṣūr was idolised by his soldiers whom he led to invariable victory. He was very particular about military discipline. His authority was so much dreaded that scarcely any revolt disturbed the peace of the country during his time. He won for Spain a position which she never enjoyed after. 'Arab Spain was raised to a high level of prosperity. Never, except under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, had the star of Muslim Spain shone with such brilliance.

Manṣūr took interest in the material prosperity of the country as a result the population of Muslim Spain increased.[1] He widened old roads and constructed new ones and a number of bridges to facilitate the march of his army and to foster trade and commerce, a bridge was constructed across the Genil at Ecija and another over the Guadalquivir at Cordova. He enlarged the Mosque of Cordova in the construction of which he himself toiled personally. In the final enlargement undertaken during his time eastern side of the structure was demolished and eight more naves were built. To the finest woodwork in the ceiling of the Cordova Mosque additions were also made in Manṣūr's time. The additions and alterations made during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, Ḥakam II and Manṣūr enhanced the beauty of the ceiling. According to a contemporary account there were 213,077 houses of common people in Cordova and its suburbs and 60,300 palaces of kings and nobles and public buildings like mosques, hospitals, barrackes and 80,455 business premises. The number of

1. *Cf.* McCabe, *Splendour of Moorish Spain*, p. 63.

inhabitants went on increasing in Cordova until it reached more than a million and the internal revolts began in 1009 A. D. Among the Cordovan citizens there were 'Arabs, Berbers, neo-Muslims, Christians and Jews.

Finding Zahā' inconveniently distant and Cordova dangerous and to outshine al-Zahrā' Abū 'Āmir built a magnificent and fortified capital city east of Cordova in 368/978 and called it as Madinat al-Zāhirah, where he transferred the treasure from Hishām's palace, held the courts and received the ambassadors.

Spain reached its height of glory and world power and Cordova became the envy of the whole Christian world. A nun Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (d. 1002 A. D.), who wrote a book on Pelagius, one of those Christian Zealots who had been killed during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, says in appreciation of Cordova that "in the western parts of the globe, there shone forth a fair ornament, a venerable city, haughty because of its unwonted might in war, a city well cultured, which the Spanish race held in possession, rich and known by the famous name Cordova, illustrious because of its charms and also renowned for all resources, especially abounding in the seven streams of knowledge, and ever famous for continual victories."[1]

He fostered 'Arab culture and civilization in Spain and gave encouragement to every branch of science. From froeign countries accomplished scholars came to his capital and al-Manṣūr himself used to attend their discourses and patronised them. Historians and poets of the first rank accompanied him on his campaigns. For example, in his Catalonian campaign forty-one accomplished poets and historians were with him. Among these Sa'īd of Baghdād was the most conspicuous. He was a poet

1. Cf. Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, p. 57.

wh had composed a distinguished work on 'Arabic literature containing philological comments, anecdotes, verses and proverbs.

Manṣūr made the learning of mathematics and astronomy popular among the people and established a school of astronomy and astrology. Astrology was taught by Abū al-Qāsim Maslamah al-Majrīṭī (d. 1004-7). He corrected the *Zij* of Khawārizimī and wrote a book on the astrolabe, an epitome on the tables of Khawārizmī[1] and a commercial arithmatic. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Isḥāq b. Ḥaytham, the private physician of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr, wrote a concise work on omitives and laxatives and another work on medicine.[2] The reputation of the physicians of Manṣūr's court had reached the remotest parts of Europe. During his time even the slaves took part in literary activities of the Kingdom. From among them Fatin, Ḥabīb, Ibn Joljol, etc. were known for their learning.

In patronizing scholars Manṣūr followed Ḥakam II. Among the books dedicated to him were *al-Fuṣūṣ* written by Sa'īd of Baghdād (d. 410-7/1019-21) who received 1,000 dinars as a gift from Manṣūr and an illustrated book written by Ḥasan ibn Abī 'Abdah. Abū al-Walīd ibn Ma'mar a great historian and paleaographist was employed to correct and collate the manuscripts preserved in the library of Manṣūr and his successors and was entrusted with a work of writing the family history of Banū 'Āmir. Ḥusayn ibn 'Āṣim, a famous writer of the early 11th century, wrote the *Kitāb al-Ma'thirī al-'Āmiriyah,* a history of Ibn Abi 'Āmir Ḥājib al-Manṣūr being influenced by the 'Ulamā' was responsible for the burning of a large number of philosophical works in al-Ḥakam's library. A grim picture of this incident is drawn by Sa'īd of Toledo as noted earlier.

1. Millās Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Historia de la sciencia española,* Barcelona, 1949, pp. 27-28.
2. Palencia, *Literatura,* p. 289.

To placate the theologians al-Manṣūr first adopted the attitude of intolerance to free thinkers and philosophers but later he encouraged and patronized them. He was liberal in view, allowed intermarriage between Muslims and Christians setting an example himself by marrying a daughter of the king of Navarre, Sancho III, and declared Sunday as the day of rest as majority of his soldiers was from Christians.

The genius of this great administrator is reflected in all his undertakings, small or great. He usually sought the advice of his council but he did not invariably follow it. The means he employed to rise to power may be condemned, but it should be admitted that once he had it he exercised it nobly. Manṣūr was generous and just and spent large sums of money on the distressed and sternly rebuked and punished the oppressors. For the sake of justice he punished severely both his shield-bearers, who had wronged a commoner, and his major demo, who had ill-treated a merchant. He dismissed judges who failed to dispense justice and removed abuses which had crept into the administration of justice. His sagacity and love of justice became proverbial. Manṣūr actively participated in public and relief work. The royal granary of Manṣūr which contained in 374/884-5 A. D., 200,000 mudds of wheat and of which he was proud was emptied in the famine relief of 378/988-9. The Grand Ḥājib checked speculation and introduced a rigid system of accounts. He was a man of determination and perseverance, steadfast in friendship and implacable in hatred. As a politician he was a post master and as a military general he was second to none of his contemporaries. He rose to the position which even men like Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf, Abū Muslim Khurāsāni and Khālid Barmakī had not been able to achieve as perhaps the caliphs under whom they lived were strongmen. If we ride the narrow limits of kingship, and so called formal legitimacy attached to it, we find Manṣūr more able and diplomatic than any Muslim king of Spain.

CHAPTER XII

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE UMAYYAD DYNASTY
(392-424/1002-1031)

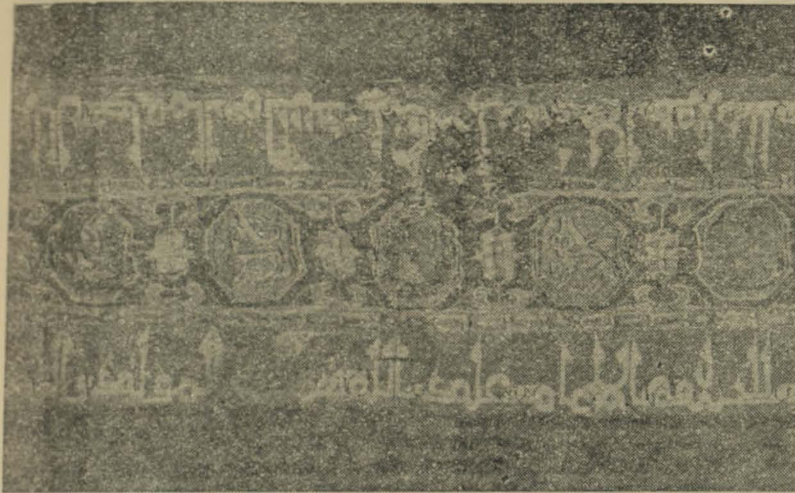
A population of discordant 'Arabs and Berbers, Christians and neo-Muslims was difficult to subdue and the unity of the country became precarious and artificial. The authority of the Caliph depended on maintaining the balance. As the person of the Caliph was constantly under threat from the plots and revolts at Cordova itself, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and Ḥājib al-Manṣūr built Zahrā' and Zāhirah respectively away from the old cumbrous city of Cordova and protected themselves by an army of paid foreign soldiers called the Slavs. The Slavs ran the ḥaram and the palace, controlled the civil administration and organized the army. This dependence on foreign recruits helped 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and Manṣūr in establishing a military dictatorship but created dis-satisfaction among the Arabs, Berbers and natives. Manṣūr's attitude had alienated both Arabs and Spaniards and they had long wished to expel the Berbers. The tribal outlooks of the 'Arabs and Berbers further aggravated the situation.

Prime Minister Muẓaffar :— By exercising autocratic power Manṣūr had intimidated his subjects into submission but never won their sincere loyalty. His sons were continually troubled by this disaffection. 'Abd al-Malik, who had already distinguished himself as viceroy in North Africa four years before, succeeded his father al-Manṣūr as ḥājib in 1002 A. C. while Khalīfah Hishām II was on the throne. During the seven years of his rule Muslim Spain continued to be prosperous at home. Commerce,

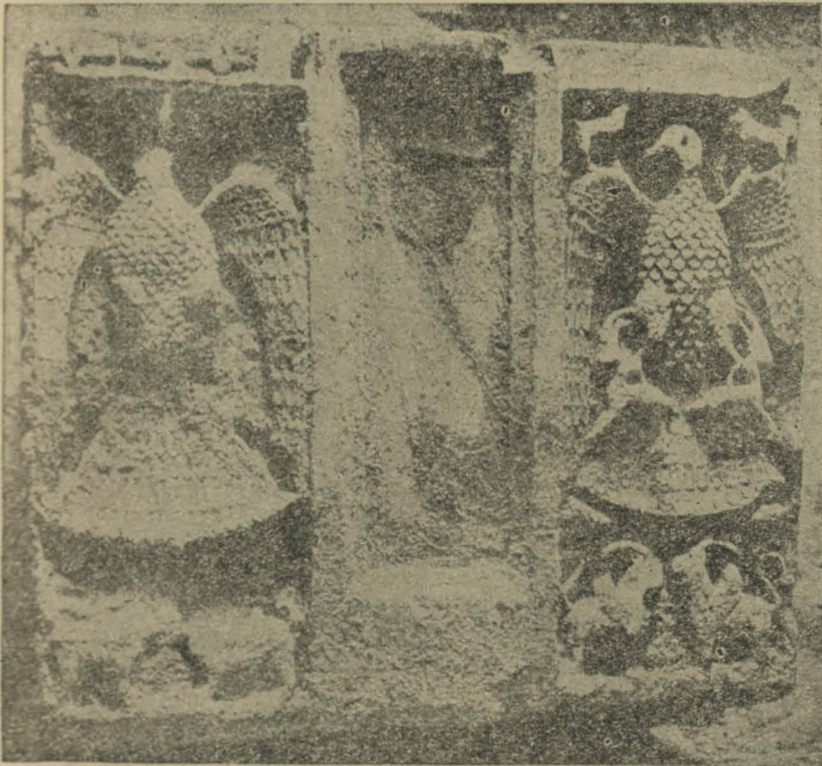
industry and agriculture flourished. He strengthened the Khalīfah's army with new contingents recruited mainly in North Africa and led several expeditions against the kingdoms of the North, in 393/1003 against the Catalonia, in 395/1005 against Pamplona and in 397/1007 against the Castilians whom he defeated at Clunia. After this last successful campaign he adopted the title of al-Muẓaffar bi'llāh. As regards the position of the Muslims in relation to the Christian kingdoms in the North statusquo was maintained by him. Opposition to 'Amirid (Banū 'Āmir) control of government was gradually developing during 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar's lifetime, but he was successful in putting down the risings and continued to govern with a strong hand as long as he lived. He proved himself a competent administrator and a great general.

Meanwhile great changes had taken place in Muslim Spain. Class conflict had added to the existing racial discord and new sects had appeared, advocating innovations in politics and religion. Peace was disturbed by the Berbers, 'Arabs and Spaniards. The Slav guards were playing the same role in Cordova as the Pretorians did in ancient Rome and the Turks in medieval Baghdād. The people were profoundly attached to the Umayyad Khilāfat and ardently desired the fall of the 'Āmirid house of al-Manṣūr.

'Abd al-Raḥmān IV Sanchol :—The power of the 'Āmirids declined with the death of Muẓaffar who was poisoned in Muḥarram 399/Sept. 1008 at the instigation of his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān, nick named Shanjul (Sanchuelo or Sanchol i. e. little Sancho). The latter usurped the wazārat. His taking up office of ḥājib was approved by the weak Khalīfah Hishām II. Henceforth the story of Spain was one of anarchy and ruin. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was unpopular with the *fuqahā,* because he was addicted

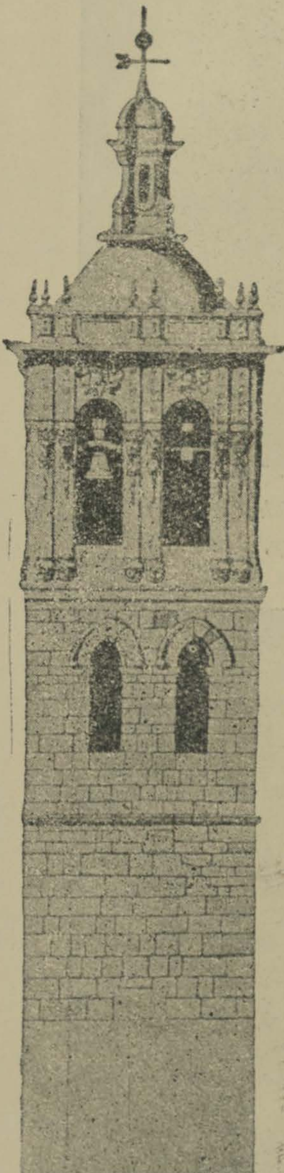


The Tīrāz (embroidered cloth) of Hishām II (10th Century)
(preserved in the Royal Academy of History, Madrid)

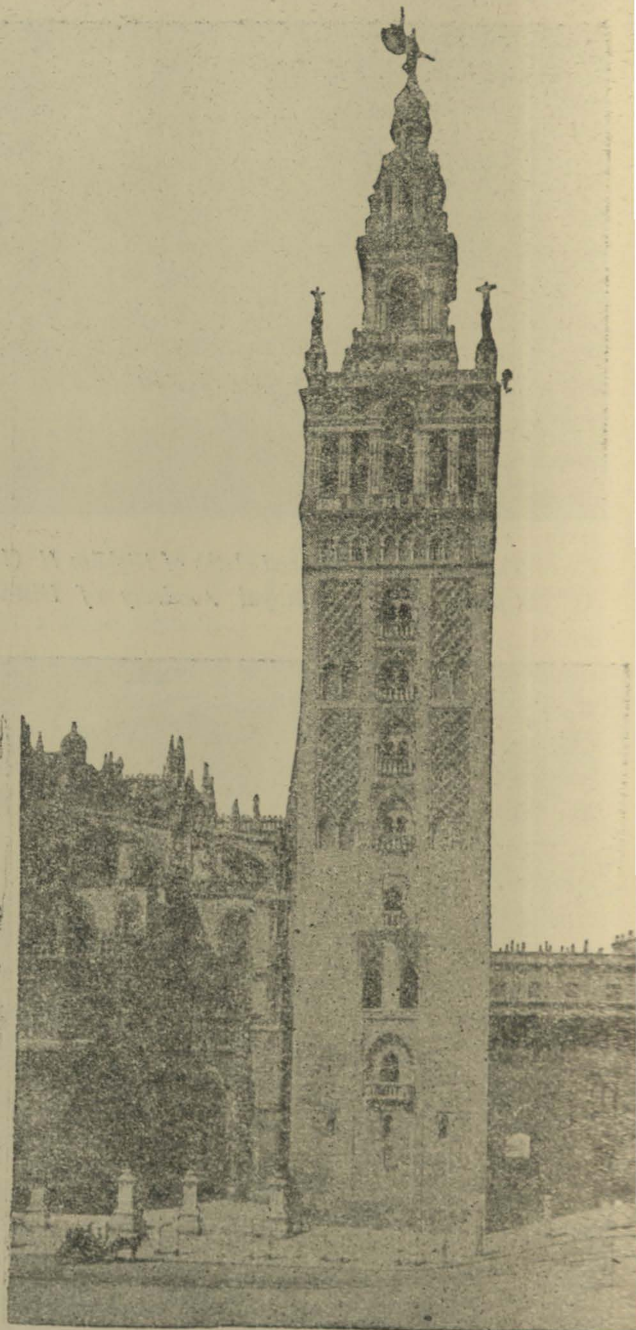


Marble pillar of the Madrasah of Ibn Yūsuf in Morocco bearing an inscription of Ḥājib 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (1002-7 A. C.)

Plate No. V



The Mīnār of the Grand Mosque of Seville, constructed at the order of ʻAb dal-Raḥmān II, now tower of the Church of Salvador



The Giralda (1172-9 A. C.), the famous mu'adhdhina and observatory of Seville, constructed by the Muwaḥḥi ruler Abū Yūsuf Yaʻqūb

to wine and as he ridiculed the sacred ceremonies of Islām. He lacked ability of his father and brother, but succeeded in obtaining from Hishām his nomination as heir-apparent to the Umayyad caliphate. His name was read in the khuṭbah. This caused discontent among the Qurayshites and other Arabs who had unflinching devotion for the Khalīfahs. He aggravated the prevailing discontent by compelling the soldiers to use the turban of the theologians instead of the helmet. All these ultimately proved fatal to him as well as to his family.

Muḥammad II al-Mahdī :—When 'Abd al-Rḥmān IV led an expedition into the Asturias against Alfonso V of Leon, the Cordovans forced Hishām II to abdicate and placed Muḥammad II bin Hishām bin 'Abd al-Jabbār bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān III on the throne. The latter was proclaimed khalīfah with the honorific title of al-Mahdī in 399/1008. The new king razed to the ground the 'Āmirid Palace al-Madīnat al-Zāhirah and the city was plundered for four days. Two million and one hundred thousand pieces of silver and one million and five hundred pieces of gold were also carried off as booty. Finding his position untenable, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol sued for peace but on his return to Cordova he was slain on the 4th March 1009 with his faithful ally the Count of Carrion. Thus was the 'Āmirid despotism overthrown for ever.

There were three chief caliph making groups, the populace of Cordova, the Berbers and the Slavs. From this time until the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (1009-1031) Cordova was torn asunder by civil wars. The Berber elements joined by the Ṣanhājah contingents from North Africa which were recruited by the 'Āmirids played a disastrous part in the troubles that ensued. Mahdī, who was blood-thirsty by nature, brought out Hishām II and placed him on the throne as a puppet. Instead of conci-

liating the chiefs of the foreign mercenaries, Mahdī alienated both the Slavs and the Berbers by dismissing a large number of them from the military dīwān. By his debauchery and licentious habits he also alienated the theologians who now lamented their bad choice.

Sulaymān :— As Mahdī was a profligate, the Berbers proclaimed another Hishām, son of Sulaymān bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, as the khalīfah of Spain. But he was killed and his supporters were expelled. The Berbers soon rallied round their chief Zāwī and joined by the malcontents of Cordova conquered the country and soon in July 1010 raised to the throne another Umayyad prince, Sulaymān bin al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, who assumed the title of al-Musta'īn bi'llāh. Under the new Khalīfah the Berbers took Calatrava and Guadalajara and being reinforced by the Castilians they marched towards Cordova. Al-Mahdī was defeated at Cantich and was unable to oppose their advance. The capital having been fallen into Berbers' hands, Sulaymān al-Musta'īnbi'llāh was installed as king in the palace by the Ṣanhājah chief Zāwī. The Berbers and the Castilians committed atrocities in the capital.

Al-Mahdī Regains Capital :— Bolstered by the alliance of the Counts Raimundo of Barcelona and Ermenegild of Urgel (Lerida), and Wadīh, the ruler of Tortosa, Mahdī attacked Sulaymān al-Musta'īnbi'llāh and his Berber followers near Akaba al-Bakar (Castillo del Bacar) to the north of Cordova. Sulaymān was defeated, primarily due to his ignorance of military tactics. His advance guard of Africans, after attacking the Catalans, feigned retreat only to charge again with greater force, but Sulaymān could not anticipate their plan and left the field thinking that they had fled. The Berbers returned and attacked the Catalans so fiercely that sixty of their chiefs

including Count Ermenegild were killed but when their leader Sulaymān was found missing from the battlefield they lost heart and retreated. Mahdī thus won the day and recaptured Cordova. He was an unworthy king and could not restore peace and order even in the capital. The Berbers reassembled, seized the south-western part of Spain and harassed Cordova and the country around. Thus the people became disgusted with al-Mahdī.

Hishām II free from Tutelage :—The Slavs under the leadership of Wadīh hatched up a conspiracy against Mahdī, murdered him and set the Khalīfah Hishām II free from the tutelage of his ḥājib. For the second time, Hishām II was proclaimed Khalīfah in Dhū'lhijjah 400/July 1010.[1] Hishām's first task was to appoint Wadīh his Prime Minister and to conclude peace with the Berbers. The latter, however, refused to agree with Wadīh and continued to kill and plunder the people. The treasury having been depleted Wadīh had to sell the valuable collections of al-Ḥakam's library to pay the soldiery.

Sulaymān Ruler for the Second time :— In 1012 A. C. the Berbers sacked Cordova and forced the Cordovans to accept Sulaymān once more as their Khalīfah. The Slavs followed the Berbers and entered Cordova perpetrating atrocities and killing even the famous scholars who had been attracted to Spain from other countries during the hey-day of the Umayyads in Spain. They looked in vain for Hishām II whom Sulaymān gave out to have been dead ; but Hishām seems to have fled to Asia where he passed his life in obscurity or perhaps he was put to death in the confusion following the assault. With him ended the remaining glory of the line of the Umayyads.

'Alī b. Ḥammūd :— Sulaymān appointed the Berbers to the post of ḥājib (prime minister) and wazīr (minister). The

1. Antonio Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid. 1926, p. 14.

Cordovans, disgusted with his rule, invited 'Alī b. Ḥammūd, governor of Ceuta, to seize the throne. The latter came in 405/1015, killed Sulaymān and occupied the throne. But he himself was assassinated not long afterwards and affairs in the State became even more confused. Shortly after his brother's death Qāsim was raised to the throne, but he was not strong enough to adjust himslf to the situation. He was, therefore, expelled from Cordova after a few months' reign in 1018 A. C.

'Abd al-Raḥmān V :—During this period of confusion, Cordova suffered from all sorts of atrocities and feuds spread in the distant provinces giving rise to petty rulers, Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if (Sp. *Reyes de Taifas*).[1] 'Abd al-Raḥmān V, a great grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, was, however, elected Khalīfah in 414/1023. He assumed the title of al-Mustazhir and appointed 'Alī ibn Ḥazm as his Prime Minister. Besides 'Alī ibn Ḥazm, he had advisers like 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥazm ('Alī's cousin) and Abū 'Āmir ibn Shuhayd. They were known for talents but offended orthodox Muslims by the laxity of their religious views. Many old nobles who opposed 'Abd al-Raḥmān V were thrown into prison.

The civil war had affected seriously civic and economic life of the town and a large number of people fell out of employment and were ready to demolish the remaining fabric of society. Their leader Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Allāh, a great-grandson of al-Nāṣir incited them to plunder and create havoc. The old nobles joined the populace. At the end of the year 1023 a Berber battalion entered Cordova and was employed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān V, who was in great need of troops. The royal guards, who hated the Berbers,

1. *Cf.* Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas,* 1926, pp. 15-16.

conspired with the rebels and all of them including the prefect of the city and the wazīrs deserted the Khalīfah. They hunted down the Berbers wherever they were found and killed 'Abd al-Raḥmān V on January 18, 1024.[1]

Muḥammad III al-Mustakfi :— Muḥammad occupied the throne and assumed the title of al-Mustakfī. The people became ferocious when he appointed a weaver as his prime minister and arrested the two Ibn Ḥazms. They invited the Ḥammūdite Yaḥyā, chief of Malaga, in May 1025. The mob killed his prime minister and Muḥammad escaped in the guise of a woman to an obscure village where he was killed by one of his own officers.

Yaḥyā of Malaga :— Yaḥyā delayed his arrival for six months. In the meantime Cordova was governed by a council of state. Yaḥyā also failed to establish peace and satisfy the people when he himself took charge of the government. The Cordovans fell out with the Ḥammūdites and the Africans and invited two Slav chiefs, Khayrān and Mujāhid, from Almeria and Denia respcctively to rule over them. They also proved worthless and fell out between themselves and left Cordova one after the other.

Hishām III al-Mu'tadd :—— The council of state under the chairmanship of Abu'l Ḥazm son of Jahwar resolved to put a member of the Umayyad dynasty on the throne and therefore invited in June 1027 Hishām son of Muḥammad (d. 975 A. C.), elder brother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān V. Hishām came to Cordova in December 1029 from Alpuente, where he had fled after his brother's assassination. Being irresolute and ease-loving, he could not satisfy the expectations of the nobles and councillors. They were annoyed with Hishām all the more when the

1. Antonio Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid, 1926, p. 16.

latter appointed as his ḥājib a worthless person, Ḥakam ibn Sa'īd, who incited his master to plunge into debauchery. The treasury was empty and the soldiers' pay was in arrears. The money that he acquired by imposing taxes on commodities of daily consumption and selling the furniture of the palace was not enough to meet the State expenses and, therefore, he tried to raise more money by other dubious methods. This displeased the theologians whom he could have dealt with successfully had he not had to deal also with the hostile Ibn Jahwar, the leader of the nobles. He failed to drive him out of the office of the President. All Spain was tired of these constant changes of government and yearned for the abolition of the Khilāfat. The councillors feigning to aim merely at substituting another Khalīfah for Hishām III negotiated with Umayyah a kinsman of Hisham III. In December 1031, the conspirators killed Ḥakam, the prime minister, and compelled Hishām to abdicate the throne in favour of Ibn Jahwar, the President of the council. Hishām III was put into prison from where he escaped to Merida and died in 1036 A. C. and Umayyah was banished from the country. The authority of municipal rule was established under Ibn Jahwar but this was not accepted beyond the city and suburbs of Cordova.

Disintegration of the Umayyad Kingdom :— The kingdom of the Umayyads in Spain broke up in the 11th century and all the provinces proclaimed their independence under the 'Arab, Spanish, Slav or Berber chiefs and formed the numerous small kingdoms known as the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* (*Reyes de taifas*). By 1031 besides the three frontier provinces, thirty towns of al-Andalus had a more or less independent rulers.

The restoration of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain after its fall in the East was one of the most striking events in

the history of the 'Arabs in the Middle Ages. It was this dynasty which for the first time separated itself from the rest of the Muslim world and brought about real political unity in Spain. Under able and vigorous rulers Muslim Spain resisted the designs of the 'Abbāsids and of the Fāṭimids. It fought successfully against the Franks and Spanish Christians of the North and inflicted on the latter greatest humiliation in medieval history by sacking and capturing Santiago de Compostella. The restored Umayyad rule in Spain had not suffered any serious attack since the day when the first Khalīfah of Spain had hoisted the flag of the dynasty in Bobastro and Toledo. It was a well organised and firmly established State and not a "mushroom State which rises at night and grows mouldy in the morning", as has been reported by E. F. Gautier while describing the political constitution of the medieval Berberia.[1] But it took only a quarter of a century for its complete collapse. The causes of the domestic and foreign troubles which were to sap and destroy the stability and integrity of the State are not far to seek.

Internal Causes :—The internal causes of the weakness of Hishām II, of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol, the third 'Āmirid despot, and of latter repesentatives of the Umayyad dynasty, the interference of the Berbers and the Slavs in the public affairs, the anarchy in the peasantry, the conflict between the neo-Muslims and formation of political parties on the racial basis were the most important.[2] The degeneration of the armed forces nad materialistic outlook of the upper class were no less important causes for the downfall of the Umayyads.

1. *Cf.* Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Historia de España, IV*, Madrid, 1950, pp. 487 n 36.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 456.

The chief concern of every ruler came to be his own maintenance and not the welfare of those they ruled. The despotic sway of an empire can only be retained by exacting the obedience of the people through force. Hence, if the head of the state namely an amīr or a caliph be weak, disintegration naturally sets in. As time passed, the Umayyad specially the latter rulers became more and more worldly and indulged in luxury. They started showing disregard towards the theologians and jurists who in the days of early rulers were placed in high esteem. They, therefore, feeling their grip loosening became hostile to the temporal head. They really intended to unite the temporal and spiritual functionary and powers in them. On the passive attitude of the rulers they began to deliver sermons from their pulpits against the king and thus created discontentment among the people.

Ḥis͟hām II who succeeded Ḥakam II was minor. This enabled Manṣūr to exercise full authority over the State which again aroused jealousy among the nobles. As a result, the apparent unity was broken up and the old jealousies were revived. As long as Manṣūr lived, he maintained the unity of the State with his wisdom, tactics and force. His death, however, broke up this accord. The most serious weakness of the K͟hilāfat was that it included a variety of races and followers of different religions. During the time of the weak rulers, particularly in the last twenty-four years of the ten puppet kings, who could not maintain the balance of power among the different factions, the control of the kingdom slipped out of the K͟halīfah's hands and the various groups fought among themselves for supremacy and repeated but with more strength the old history of the civil war fought in the dependent Imārat period and during the time of 'Abd Allāh. There appeared no strong man like 'Abd al-

Raḥmān I or 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, to suppress the revolts. The racial distinctions and animosity alienated the sympathies of the Berbers and the neo-Muslims, made them bitter foes of the 'Arabs and factional fights created chaos and confusion in the country. As Ameer Ali rightly says, "The old Arab society, with its virtues and its faults, had disapeared."[1] The unification of the nation, which had been the aim of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and of the great Ḥājib Ibn Abī 'Āmir Muḥammad and which had been achieved under their strong hands, disappeared during the period of the weak rulers. This led to the disintegration of society.

Ibn Abī 'Āmir Muḥammad's concert and distrust of others instigated him to try to supervise every minute detail of administration. This cxcessive interference made the officers and governors in far off districts rebellious and disloyal at heart and they felt that they had been deprived of their responsibility. The ministers became powerless passively executing the Ḥājib's order. The weakness of his successors accelerated the centrifugal forces already on their course of distintegration.

The Mozarabs retained their churches, their priesthood and their councils and some of their festivals were celebrated by Christians and Muslims alike. Many of the Mozarabs who had adopted 'Arab customs but were not loyal to the Muslim state were always ready to render help to the invading Christians of the North and to the rebels inside the country. Instances of such enmity and treachery of the Mozarabs are not lacking. The racial hatred of the 'Arabs, who were by nature a free people and suffered from a sense of racial superiority, caused to increase in the masses a kind of general antagonism against them and their power. Ibn Marwān and 'Umar bin Ḥafṣūn were the forceful and dangerous examples. The Berbers held

1. *Cf. A Short History of the Saracens*, London, 1951, p. 325.

that they should not be regarded as a subjugated people and asserted their privileges equally to the 'Arabs and created a cloudy atmosphere which might give them a chance to fulfil their objectives. Moreover, the 'Arabs were themselves not united. The influence of the Slavs in the courts caused to increase the 'Arab antagonism against them as well as against the caliphs who created and patronized them. The battle of Khandaq in the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III is an example of the ruinous results of that antagonism when the 'Arab chiefs left Najdah in the midst of the horrors of the battle and caused the disaster.

There were gradations of the Muslim artistocracy, freemen, freedmen, and slaves. On the destruction of 'Arab and Berber aristocracy during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, their place was taken up by a new-aristocracy of merchants, industrialists and soldiers. The 'Arab and Berber landlords living in the self-created villages had obtained vast estates while the cities were left in the hands of the neo-Muslims and Mozarabs to be developed industrially and commercially.

The Umayyads had caused feudalism to be established in the country with its dire consequences. The wealth and property was distributed among a limited class of people belonging mainly to 'Arab princes and nobles. They gradually mustered strength and became the cause of uprisings. Often, many of the nobles raised the standard of rebellion against the State. Meterial development had brought into prominence a middle class of neo-Muslims, the merchants and the owners of industries, who played an important role in the economy of the country[1] but were hardly united in maintaining an effective central government.

1. *Cf.* Ameer Ali, *A short History of the Saracens*, p. 525.

The increase of wealth and the birth of a new order gave rise to inter-class struggle, the animosity of employees for their employers and the envy of the middle class for the aristocracy. In the capital itself the social conditions were such that the smallest disturbances were bound to result in fierce quarrels between the rich and the poor. Thousands of workmen resident there were even ready to take part in any riots or revolts which promised a harvest of plunder.[1]

The materialistic outlook of the people accentuated the upper class into groups each trying to better itself at the expense of others. Relations between the caliph and the upper class were guided by sheer self-interest. The 'Āmirids had little support for their policy among the upper class. There was no structural principle of the community to foster loyalty to the central government in the members of the upper class. Non-religious motivations were strong in al-Andalus towards the end of the 10th century. From the middle of the tenth century the mixture of races became more a problem than a solution. The Slavs were employed in the military and civil offices. Berbers imported by Ḥājib al-Manṣūr were different in attitudes from those of the long-establised Berbers and Negroes. There was hardly physical intermingling and cultural homogeniety in the eleventh century. Most of the slaves were eventually freed and they settled in the towns forming an important element in the town population.

The soldiers, who should have been the backbone of the State, were recruited mainly from alien races like the Berbers and the Christians whose only incentive to fight for the Muslim State was money and not the welfare of the State and nation. The

1. *Cf.* Dozy, p. 535 ; Ameer Ali, pp. 525-526.

recruitment of foreigners was not so much due to any unwillingness on the part of the 'Arabs and the Andalusians to join the army but to the rulers' preference for mercenary foreign troops. In the later days when the rulers became weak and their finances dwindled, these soldiers without any hesitation joined the enemies of the State.

A belt of completely bare country was created between the Moorish and Christian parts of Spain by the foraying practice of the Christians and the Umayyads. For lack of men and money or as a result of a nomadic convention of war: foray (al-G͟hazwah), the wars were never properly concluded. The nobles and near relations of the K͟halīfah became hostile to the State, raised the standard of rebellion and invited the Christian chiefs from the North to invade the country. Many governors and commanders took advantage of the confusion to carve out independent principalities for themselves. Some of them, for example 'Alī ibn Ḥammūd, governor of Ceuta, and Yaḥyā of Malaga, even occupied the throne of Cordova though only for a short time.

The Banū 'Āmir were not liked by the people in general and the theologians in particular. Had the descendants of Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad been content with ruling in the name of the K͟halīfah His͟hām II and his successors, their despotism would have lasted longer but they aimed at the throne itself. They thus made the princes of the royal blood and the whole Umayyad clan their bitter enemies and completely alienated the fuqahā and the general body of the people. After the death of Muẓaffar the Banū 'Āmir fell and with it the whole fabric of the Empire collapsed.

External Causes :—The physical feature of Spain was to a great extent responsible for the disintegration of the Umayyad

power. It was the geographical situation that helped the rise of the Christian kingdom in the North. Even the strong Muslim kings failed to foresee the impending danger from this source and allowed the Asturians and the Castilians to increase their power. For their own safety and unity the uprisings of the Christians should have been nipped in the bud. Some of the Muslim rulers tried to punish the Christian chiefs by annual incursions and demolition of their forts and palaces but could not carry out this policy to the end due to the physical difficulties and heavy snow-fall in winter and the fear of discord and disorder at home. The humiliations that the Christians had received at the hands of Muslims were not forgotten by them and the more they were humbled the more they desired to reconquer their own lost lands.

In the south the Berbers of Ifriqiyah who had appeared to be an almost negligible force in the beginning were ready to join in the destruction of the Umayyad power in Spain. The danger from North Africa in fact proved to be more serious. The rulers of Spain committed a mistake in recruiting a large number of Berbers into their armies which, in the end, went against them and destroyed them. During the days of anarchy and confusion in Spain a large number of Berber adventurers crossed into Spain and offered their services to anyone who could give them opportunities to plunder.

The Andalusian Khalīfahs were reduced to such misery and helplessness that Mahdī appealed for the assistance of the Catalans and his rival Sulaymān invoked the military aid of the Christians of Castile and Leon. Thus the Muslims, instead of dictating terms to the Galicians and other Christians, supplicated their aid for the destruction of their Muslim rivals. The demands of the Leonese and the Castilian chieftains became

more and more exacting. The result was that the forts and towns which 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and the great Ḥājib al-Manṣūr had built in the North to check the aggression of the Christian chiefs of the North were surrendered.

The excesses committed by the Berbers and the employment of the displaced Christians of Castile turned almost entire population against the authority of Cordova. Thousands of prosperous villages were destroyed and the green fields became desolate. The strongholds of the North were lost and the governors of the eastern and western provinces proclaimed their independence. Thus the unified kingdom of the Umayyads was split up into several small principalities never to be united again.


MUSLIM SPAIN
MUSLIM CONQUEST
FRONTIER UNDER KHILAFAT
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
MILES
40 0 40 80
R. Loire
PARIS
Tours
Lyon
R. Rhone
R. Dordogne
R. Garonne
Avignon
Nimes
Toulouse
SEPTIMANIA
Gulf of Lyons
Narbonne
Corunna
GALICIA
Gijon
ASTURIAS
Covadonga
CANTABRIA
Pamplona
NAVARRE
Lugo
R. Minho
Leon
Logrono
ARAGON
CATALONIA
Lerida
Burgos
CASTILE
Tudela
R. Ebro
Barcelons
Braga
Zamora
R. Douro
Soria
Saragossa
Oporto
Calatayud
UPPER MARCH
Reus
Tarragona
Mendinaceli
MIDDLE MARCH
Tortosa
ESTREMADURA
ANDALUCIA
Madrid
BALEARIC ISLANDS
Minorca
Talavera
Castellón de la Plana
Majorca
R. Tegus
Toledo
LOWER MARCH
Alcantara
Valencia
Santarem
R. Jucar
Iviza
Merida
Jativa
Denia
Lisbon
Badajoz
TADMIR
R. Segura
Alicante
R. Guadiana
R. Guadalquivir
Cordova
Jaen
Murcia
GRANADA
Baeza
Lorca
Cartagena
Silves
Huelva
Sevilla
R. Genil
Guadix
Pechina
Granada
QAYRAWAN
Medina
Archidona
Algeria
Gulf of Cadiz
Sidonia
Ronda
Malaga
Torrox
Almeria
Cadiz
Algeciras
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Ceuta
Tangier
MAURETANIA
Oran
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IFRIQIYAH

CHAPTER XIII

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN STATES IN THE NORTH

After the conquest of Spain by the Muslim armies, a few defeated bands of Christians fled to the northern regions of the country. There in these hilly and natural strongholds they established themselves and despite suffering many defeats and many efforts to dislodge them, there they remained and consolidated their position. During the beginning of the Muslim rule it was very difficult to call these people a nation. Each chief lived independently in his stronghold. A national sense had not yet developed.

Some nobles, bishops and remnants of the vanquished soldiers of Roderick gathered in the mountains of Asturias (the Picos de Europa) and elected, in a tribal council held at the village of Cangas de Onis, Pelayo (Pelagius), a member of Roderick's guard and a fugitive from the South among the Asturians, as Roderick's successor. Pelayo at the head of these unorganised followers attacked the Muslims under their lieutenant Governor 'Alqamah in the valley of Covadonga in 718 which acquired a legendary fame attaching undue military importance to this victory. Later Pelayo extended his little estate (5 X 3 miles) in the eastern Asturias when the stability of the Muslims in France had been shakened by Charles Martel, the Frankish Emperor, and his successors.

Meanwhile, because of the ensuance of civil war among themselves and not having men in large numbers to be spared for keeping the less desirable lands in the north-west like the

Basque heartland in the crook of the Biscayan Gulf under control, the Muslim frontier tended to recede from the extreme north-west. This facilitated the cause of Pelayo all the more in extending his territories and later of his successors and other ambitious Christian chiefs in fixing their frontier south of the Douro along a line passing through Coimbra, Coria, Talavera, Toledo and Guadalajara though they could not take a conscious offensive against the Muslim South until the eleventh century. Even in the bad days of the Muslims under ʻAbd Allāh their frontier did not exceed beyond the Guadarrama mountains while the frontier line along the Douro could not be retained as fixed one during the heydays of the Muslims in the caliphate period when Ḥājib al-Manṣūr overran the entire Christian Spain except a few places leaving unconquered in the North.

Pelayo died in 737 A. D. and in a century of their rule the Asturians produced only two able rulers, Alfonso I (739-757) and Alfonso II (791-842). Alfonso I, the son of an independent governor or count of Cantabria, married Emesinda, the daughter of Pelayo, and uniting the two small domains gave rise to the line of Asturias. During the Umayyad Governors' rule when the Berbers created trouble in 740-1, the Arabs' hold became loose in the Douro valley, the newly born Asturian State, therefore, began to expand. Alfonso I devastated lands beyond the northern mountains in the north and north-west as far south as Segovia and Avila but could keep under control only a few places mainly Asturias extending between Cantabria to the east and Galicia to the west. During his rule the Christian territory extended most at the cost of the Muslim possessions and during the course of his campaign Alfonso I carried back thousands of the Mozarabs to resettle them on his own frontiers. The Muslims withdrew from nearly a quarter of the

Iberian Peninsula allowing some uninhabited areas to constitute the marches.

As the Asturian State was away from the Muslim Marches in the north-west and as Hishām I and Ḥakam I were entangled in internal affairs, Alfonso II took full advantage of the situation and raided as far afield as Lisbon in the west, Alfonso II and his uncle Bermudo I led the Galician and Asturian soldiers against 'Abd al-Karīm the Muslim commander and receiving a setback at the outset gave a serious defeat ultimately to the Cordovan soldiers in 792 A. D. The Asturian ruler concluded a treaty of alliance with Charlemagne, the Frankish emperor, and his son Louis the Pious, the King of Aquitain, against the Umayyad ruler of the South. This alliance with foreign power was, however, not appreciated by the Christian chiefs in which they saw their own fall as traditionally the strong monarchy was not in favour of the nobility. The tribesmen of Asturias and Galicia accepted the Visigothic tradition but after much resistance and the Cantabrians proved recalcitrant while the Basques were left in their primitive independence.

Though in the north-east the fertile valley of the Ebro was controlled by the Muslim stronghold of Saragossa, the Asturians, Cantabrians and Basques encroached upon the Muslim possessions by raiding through the defiles of the Basque hills and of the Cantabrian mountains and resettled themselves in the upper valley of the Ebro. As the lands were acquired by monasteries and Christian Chiefs and they were defended by constructing castles like the ancient turrets in the whole area became known as Castile and for the first time documented in 800 A. D. These expeditions and resettlements were made under the direction or with the knowledge of Alfonso II and other Asturian rulers. But very often it was done with the initiative

of a local chief who after achieving his object had just formal sanction of the ruler.

Internally the kingdom was re-organised and capital was shifted to Oviedo (Ovetao) by Alfonso II. The Gothic monarchy was thus consolidated and Oviedo was enriched by building palaces, churches including a beautiful basilica and also public baths in pursuit of the Muslim traditions.[1]

Alfonso II became all the more known in the Christian world for the discovery of the tomb and body of Saint James the Greater (the apostle Santiago) in north-western Galicia during his reign between 810 and 830 A. D. It became the place of veneration and visit from all over Christian world which helped in infiltrating outside influence into Spain. There grew up a village called Santiago de Compostela which developed gradually into a town of industry and politics and a rival of Rome in holiness.

For two succeeding centuries, until the fall of the Umayyads of Cordova, little progress was made in political and other spheres by the Christian rulers of Oviedo and Leon. Meanwhile in the early 10th century another Christian kingdom had grown in the north-west with its capital at Leon.

During these years there had been military pressure on the Basques, the people of the mountains, from north by the Franks and the south by the Umayyads, for subjugation. They however maintained a more or less unorganised freedom from both the Umayyads and the Franks until the formation of a definite state at Pamplona in about 800 A. D. a few years after defeating the Frankish army in the pass of Roncesvalles by their chief Iñigo (Eneco) Arista still a legendary figure

1. *Cf.* Author's paper '*Some Moorish Traditions in Spanish Life*' in JASP, April, 1967, pp. 116-17.

in history. The first important historical figure of this newly created state of Navarre was Sancho Garcia (905-925). The kingdom of Navarre was actually established as a reaction against the Frankish protectorate.

Taking advantage of the animosity between the Franks and the Muslims the Aragonese maintained their independent existence and a legendary kingdom was established in about the same time at Jaca. This Aureolus or Oriol established the nucleus of the state of Aragon. Thus established three states of Navarre, Castile and Aragon between the Asturian kingdom and the Spanish March and Aragon stood as a buffer state between the Franks and the Navarrese. Inter-Christian rivalry and war of supremacy fought among the Christian chiefs of the north Aragon was absorbed by Navarre towards the end of the 10th century.

The regions of Barcelona extending up to the Pyrenees had been conquered by Musa but later on due to the civil wars fought among the Muslims in South Spain and partly due to the pressure of the Franks, the Muslims receded from Septimania (South France) and their hold on the north-eastern part of Spain also became loose. As a result the Frankish rulers extended their territory of political influence and conquering the regions of Catalan between 785 and 811 established a semi-independent principality of countship under their control in 798 A. D. and called it Gothic March (Spanish March). The first lord of this Frankish established principality in Spain which extended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro and from Pamplona to Barcelona and which had been occupied by the Franks in 801 A. D. was a Frankish noble. This was the area of refuge for the disgusted Christian chiefs coming from the Muslim Zone of Spain and as a military outpost to defend France and to launch an attack

on the Muslim part of Spain. Throughout the reigns of Hishām I and Ḥakam I there had been exchange of arms between the Franks and the Umayyads and even Louis and Ḥakam I were found engaged in battles with diverse results until a peace treaty was concluded between the courts of Cordova and Aix la-Chapelle (or Paderborn) in 816 A. D. and permanent hold of the Franks on Barcelona and its regions was legally accepted by Ḥakam I the Umayyad Amīr. This principality was divided into a number of countships chiefly being Pillars, Sobrarbe and Ribagorza each independent of the other but loosely attached to the Frankish empire which, however, could keep them under its sovereignty for only about eighty years. These counts fought for supremacy which resulted in the rise to power of Wifredo, the count of Barcelona, who declared his independence in about 874 A. D. The Catalan counts like other Christian chiefs of the North fished in the troubled waters of Muslim Spain and made some territorial extention.

The ninth century struggles for power were not primarily fightings between two religions. Islām had not been made the chief integrating force till this period in al-Andalus and even if the Umayyads had this policy it had not been effective so far. It was, according to some writers, partly due to the influence of the Frankish feudal practices which attached the peasants with landlords so strongly that religious biousness did not stand in the way of their relationship though it is certain that European feudal system had not yet grown up in Spain.[1]

As desired, because of the weakness of the Amirate during the time of Muḥammad I and 'Abd Allāh, the Christian chiefs and counts of North Spain gained territorial possessions but

1. *Cf.* Watt, W.M.—*A History of Islamic Spain.* Edinburgh, 1965, p. 38

comparatively less because they were not fighting against their enemies the Muslims only but also among themselves for wealth and power. There was rivalry for power between the Asturians and the Galicians and the Galician nobles were always at war with their Leonese kings. As a result of the disunity prevailing among the Christians, one chief or king joined another against his rival and some even sought military aid from Cordova which made them sometimes part with their newly conquered territories or even sell their old possessions.

Meanwhile the Asturian kings were reminded of their imperial destiny as heirs to the Visigoths and thus they became ambitious for restoring the Gothic capital of Toledo. Alfonso III the Great (866-910) marrying a Basque lady namely Ximena strengthened his hold on Navarre. He launched attacks on Muslim territorry and extended his Astur-Leonese kingdom of an agrarian monarchy of the simplest kind. It is said he had been inspired by the cult of Saint James of Compostela that divine help was with him in fighting against the Muslims. But because of internal trouble, he abdicated the throne and remained contented with the town of Zamora only. His sons joined by their Basque mother Ximena revolted against Alfonso III whose was territory ultimately divided into three states : Leon, Galicia, and Asturias. His eldest son Garcia received Leon, the second son, Ordoño, Galicia and the third son Fruela inherited Asturias.

Further extension in the north was stopped by Ramiro II, the king of Leon and Asturias (932-950) when 'Abd al-Raḥmān III marched on Leon with a fabulous figure of a hundred thousand men in 939. The royal troops after several days of fighting at Simancas south of modern Valladolid were put to flight and many of them fell into the trench which meanwhile had been dug by Ramiro. He resettled Christians in the neigh-

bourhood of Salamanca and became engaged in suppressing the Castillians.[1] On his death in 950 'Abd al-Raḥmān III increased his influence and power in the north and subjugated all the Christian kingdoms except Galicia and ruled over them as his protectorates. Internally they were independent and paid annual tributes but externally they were under the control of the Umayyad caliphs until the fall of the caliphate in the early 11th century.

As usual the separatist tendency worked for further dismemberment of the Christian states and the geographical features of the country came to the assistance of the ambitious chiefs.

During the course of these attacks and counter-attacks the Christians had built up a number of forts for their own defence along the frontier line. The people living around Burgos revolted against Leon whose emperor Alfonso III had tried to check their independence by dividing the Castile into many counts liable to be removed at the royal will. They succeeded in declaring themselves independent under Count Fernan Gonzalez during the reign of Ramiro II (930-950).

The kingdom and region became known as Castile because of the numerous castles built up there by the kings of Leon and Oviedo, the Christian chiefs and monasteries, the former for the defence of their frontiers and the latter for the protection of their fields. Sancho the Fat became king of Leon in 955 but he was dethroned by his nobles. Soon after receiving military aid from 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and also from the Christian king of Navarre he regained his throne. He undertook to the Umayyad Caliph the dismantling of certain fortresses and handing over some cities but did not do so until he was forced by the son and successor of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.

1. Cf. Americo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, pp. 130-70 quoted by Watt, W. M.—*A History of Islamic Spain*, 1965, p. 38.

As usual, rivalry and intrigue continued and civil wars were fought in the Christian territory and some of the Christian kings and chiefs joined with the Umayyad caliphs and Ḥājib al-Manṣūr against the others as detailed elsewhere.

After the death of Manṣūr in 1002, his son and successor 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (1002-1008) maintained the prestige of the Umayyad State for a short while. After Muẓaffar there was neither powerful Caliph nor strong prime minister to rule over the Muslim territory. So the dismemberment of the Umayyad State started and physical features opposed the unity as vehemently as the political circumstances. North Spain found at this opportune moment two strong rulers in Alfonso V (994-1027) of Leon and his uncle Sancho the Great (970-1035) of Navarre. They started pushing their frontiers southward. The Leonese now crossed the Douro in Portugal and the Castilians aiding one Muslim faction against another concluded treaties with them in their own favour. Shortly after the death of Alfonso V, Sancho the Great took the leading part among the Christian kings and occupied Leon. His suzerainty also extended to Aragon, Navarre and the Basque provinces of Spain and France. Catalonia and Galicia were, however, out of his political influence. Thus Sancho had created a strong monarchy over the whole of the north from Galicia to the Frankish frontiers which could stand in opposition to the tottering Muslim States in the South but the time was not yet ripe and the idea of national unity had not yet developed in their minds. Not even the idea of Spanish State had come in the mind of Sancho who as traditional emperor divided his kingdom into three parts Navarre, Castile and Aragon to be inherited by his sons on his death which occurred in 1035 A. D. "The history of Spain in the 11th century is characterized by the

vigorous efforts of the Reconquista, stimulated by energetic and enterprising Christian monarchs who were more and more conscious of the necessity of re-establishing national unity at the expense of Islam."[1] The opportunity would not have arisen had there not been weakness in Muslim Spain. This period should extend from 1031, the fall of the Caliphate, to 1248, the conquest of Seville.

Through intermarriage and other dynastic policies of their ruling families the Christian kingdoms were being combined and consolidated. Six years after the fall of the caliphate Ferdinand I of Castile united the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. Barcelona was united with the kingdom of Aragon in the 12th century. Thus three important states came into being—Aragon in the East, Castile in the middle and Portugal in the West. Alfonso IV of Leon was at first satisfied with only collecting tributes from his vanquished foes but in 1085 he captured Toledo. This gave him a base of operation into the rest of Andalusia leading to the battle of Zallāqah and the consequent defeat of the Christians and passing over of Muslim Spain to the Almoravids and Almohades of North Africa successively. In Christian part of Spain success was not followed up because of more dynastic wars. Finally in the first quarter of the 13th century James I of Aragon and Ferdinand II of Castile joined forces and by conquest began to annex Muslim territory. With the death of Almohade Caliph in 1223 resistance to the Reconquista ended in al-Andalus. In 1230 Alfonso IX of Leon died and his kingdom was joined to that of Castile under Ferdinand III who took offensive against the Muslims particularly. In a series of campaigns from 1231 onwards he finally conquered the very heart of Andalus, Cordova

1. Cf. the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 495.

in 1236 and Seville in 1248. By the end of the 13th century most of Spain was in Christian hands except for the kingdom of Granada whose territory became narrower and narrower gradually. Finally in 1469 Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile joined hands by marrying each other and made united efforts for the conquest of Granada which ultimately fell in January 1492.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PETTY DYNASTIES

Phase I (1010—1091 A. C.)

In the first years of the eleventh century the power slept out of the hands of the Ḥājib, the Umayyad Caliph had already lost his control over the administration in the fourth decade of the tenth century. The provinces began to secede from the centre and the centre of gravity started shifting from the capital to the provincial headquarters. The ‘Arab monarchy withdrew from the scene and the chieftains created their own domain taking advantage of the political situation and physical features of the country. After the disintegration of the Umayyad State, a number of short-lived dynasties like those founded by the successors of Alexander the Great arose. These ‘Party Kings' were called ‘*Reyes de Taifas*' (*Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*), The break-up of the Unity of al-Andalus began in 1009 when the central government lost control and governors or other local chiefs took authority into their own hands. As great power concentrated in the hands of the governors of the Marches, the disintegration was not so great there. The political units existed with their capitals at Badajoz, Toledo and Saragossa in the Lower, Middle and Upper Marches respectively. The rest of the Muslim territories in Spain were split up into thirty smaller units. Some did not survive long the intrigues within and outside and ceaseless fightings for existence or extension. The political events of the period are thus confused.

For several years they maintained their precarious independence but the people were troubled as the future appeared

gloomy to them and recalled the past with regret. Of the *taifas* only a few stood the test of time. As might was right many of them managed to enlarge their boundaries by betraying one another and exploiting their own inhabitants. The 'Party rulers' gradually lost their warlike tendencies and the place of their 'Arab and Berber soldiers was taken up by Christian merceneriȩs on whom they had to depend for the defence of the North. The country lost power and political importance though it gained in cultural sphere as the chieftains competed one another in developing culture, agriculture and horticulture. The splendour of the Caliphal court of Cordova was imitated by the Party Kings as far as their resources permitted. Some of these petty rulers were very active and kept the ministers at bay by their self-will and coarse nature while others were dominated by their ministers who again being pre-occupied by intrigues and ambitions made themselves all-powerful keeping their masters busy otherwise in pageantry and learning. Among such ministers the names of Abu'l 'Abbās of Almeria and Samuel ben Nagdela of Granada may be mentioned.

The Party Kings came of the three ethnic groups, Berbers, Slavs and Andalusians (the Arabs and Spanish neo-Muslims blended into one). The Berbers and Slavs profited most from the ruin of the Empire. The Berber party rulers seized the south coast from the Guadalquivir to Granada with its islands. The Slavs mostly moved eastwards and gained power in coastal towns like Almeria, Valencia and Tortosa but they did not form dynasties like the Berbers and Andalusians. The few 'Arab nobles, who had survived the policy which had been directed against them by 'Abd al Raḥmān III and Ḥājib al-Manṣūr, as well as some upstart Muwalladūn became masters over the rest of Muslim Spain. Among the Andalusians the

strongest dynasty was that of the 'Abbādids in Seville. Al-Mu'taḍid (1042-68) greatly extended the small kingdom of Seville to the west and south-west and fought against Cordova and Granada. The Court of Seville won in the race imitating the splendour of the Caliphal court of Cordova and excelled all in brilliance.

Of the Petty Dynasties 'Party Kings' the Banū Jahwar of Cordova, the Banū Hūd of Saragossa, the Banū Zīrī of Granada, the Banū Dhū al-Nūn of Toledo and the Banū 'Abbād of Seville are worth mentioning. These petty rulers were always at war with one another and some of them helped the Christians even to destroy others. A prey to the two Berber dynasties (the Murābiṭīn and the Muwaḥḥidīn) of Ifriqiyah, they became weak and succumbed one after the other to the rising Christian power of the North.[1]

I—JAHWARITES OF CORDOVA (1031-1070 A. C.)

During the later days of the Umayyads Abū'l Ḥazm ibn Jahwar a leading member of the court placed Hishām, brother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV, on the throne of Cordova. Hishām III had regard for Ibn Jahwar but his prime minister Ḥakam hated him. The latter failed in his attempt to turn Ibn Jahwar out of office. Ḥakam's ceaseless machinations for his dismissal made Ibn Jahwar alert. He planned not only to remove Ḥakam but also to abolish the monarchy itself and in his design enlisted the support of the members of the council established in Cordova to administer the country during the later days of the Umayyads. But he was afraid of the people, who were devoted to monarchy and not to the Council of State. To achieve his end Abū'l Ḥazm wanted a weak and worthless

1. Antonio Prieto *y* Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid, 1926, p. 16

ruler. He, therefore, instigated Umayyah a kinsman of Hishām III to rebel and occupy the throne. With the support of the Cordovans Umayyah overthrew Hishām III and his prime minister. Hishām was imprisoned and later Umayyah was banished. The abolition of Khilāfat was proclaimed and the Council of State took over the reins of government in December 1031. They elected Ibn Jahwar as the President of the Council and entrusted to him the supreme executive power. He ruled in the name of a council.

Abū'l Walīd ibn Jahwar :—When the Berbers rose to power and the 'Arab chiefs submitted to the pseudo Hishām II, Ibn Jahwar had no alternative but to submit to him so that the 'Arabs and Slavs were now united under one leader against the Berber bloc. He allowed the Cordovans to pay homage to Hishām II in November 1035 but when Abu'l Qāsim tried to instal himself in the Khilāfat of Cordova along with the pretended Hishām II, Ibn Jahwar opposed him, removed Hishām's name from the khuṭbah and convinced the people that the alleged Khalīfah was an impostor. Abū'l Qāsim had to return disappointed to Seville.

Ibn Jahwar had as his advisers two kinsmen namely Muḥammad ibn 'Abbas and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Ḥasan who were members of the Senate. He dismissed the overbearing Berbers and retained only the Banū Ifrān against whom Cordovans had no complaint and replaced the others by National Guardsmen. He never assumed the princely title, lived in his humble house and did not grant bounty to any one without the approval of the Senate. Because of his sound administration, commerce and trade developed, prices of commodities fell and people became happy but never did the old grandeur and political supremacy return

'Abd al-Malik :—In 1064 A. C. the aged Abū'l Walīd ibn Jahwar resigned his office in favour of his two sons, 'Abd al-

Raḥmān and ‘Abd al-Malik. To the former he entrusted finance and general administration and to the latter the military command. ‘Abd al-Malik enjoyed more power than his brother. For a time there was no trouble due to the wise administration of Wazīr Ibn al-Sakkā, who was praised by all for his statesmanship. In order to capture Cordova, Mu‘tamid, king of Seville, sowed seeds of discord between ‘Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Sakkā. The result was that the wazīr was killed and most of the nobles and officials attached to the wazīr deserted ‘Abd al-Malik. The deserted ruler did away with the last vestiges of republican institutions. Mā'mūn of Toledo attacked Cordova in 1070 A. C. when ‘Abd al-Malik had only 200 soldiers whose loyalty was at least lukewarm. The latter, therefore, invited Mu‘tamid of Seville to drive out the enemy. The enemy was, no doubt, expelled but the Cordovans plotted against their master and joined Mu‘tamid who occupied Cordova and put ‘Abd al-Malik and his family into prison at Saltes. The old Abū'l Walīd did not survive more than forty days. Mā'mūn and Mu‘tamid fought for years for the possession of Cordova. The former was ultimately poisoned by one Ibn ‘Ukkāshah from whom Mu‘tamid had wrested Cordova. Cordova thus, after a short interlude when it was occupied by Mā'mūn of Toledo, was finally added to the domains of Seville by Mu‘tamid.

II—THE BANŪ ḤAMMŪD OF MALAGA AND ALGECIRAS
(c. 1010—1057 A. C.)

The Banū Ḥammūd were the descendants of the Idrisids of Mauretania. Two sons of Shaykh Ḥammūd b. Maymūn b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Idrīs had fled from Ifrīqīyah and taken refuge in Cordova during the time of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr and were appointed military officers. Later the elder

brother al-Qāsim obtained the governorship of Algeciras and the younger brother 'Alī that of Tangier and Ceuta.[1] The latter conquered Malaga, overthrew the worthless Umayyad ruler Sulaymān al-Musta'īn and occupied Cordova in 1015 A. C. He assumed the title of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. Later, he was killed by his own slaves and was succeeded by his elder brother al-Qāsim in March 1018 A. C. Qāsim was dethroned by his nephew Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī in 1021 A. C. He, however, re-occupied the throne of Malaga and ruled for about seven years (1018-1021, 1022-25) with a break in 1021 A. C.

After his death Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī re-occupied the throne of Malaga and captured Algeciras and ruled for about ten years (1021, 1025-35). He was strong and powerful and established peace within the kingdom and commanded respect abroad. He compelled Qāḍī Abū'l Qāsim the ruler of Seville to send his elder son to his court as a hostage. Yaḥyā formed a coalition of the Berber chiefs against the 'Arabs of Spain and threatened the stability of Cordova and Seville but the coalition did not last long and the Berber chiefs fell out with one another. The result was that when he attacked Seville he was defeated and killed by Ismā'il, the son of the Qāḍī, in November 1035 A. C.

Yaḥyā was succeeded by his brother Idrīs I at Malaga and his cousin Muḥammad at Algeciras. Idrīs avenged the death of his father. His force defeated and killed Ismā'īl, the son of Abū'l Qāsim of Seville at Ecija. Idrīs died soon afterwards. After the death of Yaḥyā six of his successors ruled over Malaga till 1057 A. C. and two of his successors over Algeciras till 1058 A. C. when the former passed under the Berber Zirid prince Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs of Granada and the latter was occupied by the 'Abbādids of Seville. Yaḥyā was supported by the Berber

1. *Cf.* Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, pp. 24-28.

Minister Ibn Bakannah and his cousin Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā by Najā, the Slav Minister. Ḥasan became master of Malaga. Ibn Bakannah and his candidate were put to death at the instigation of Najā. Ḥasan was poisoned by his wife, who was a sister of Yaḥyā. Najā then usurped the throne, put Ḥasan's son to death and threw his brother Idrīs into prison. He marched to wrest Algeciras from Muḥammad but was killed by his own Berber soldiers while passing through a narrow defile in February 1043 because of his preference to the Slav soldiers. Ḥasan's brother Idrīs was then brought out of prison and proclaimed king.

Idrīs II (1042-6, 1053-5 A. C.)[1] was kind and charitable. He distributed 500 ducats (gold coins) daily among the poor. He released prisoners and called back the exiles. He was, however, a very weak ruler and could not refuse the demand of Bādīs, king of Granada, to hand over his wise prime minister, who had incurred the displeasure of Bādīs, to him. His cousin Muḥammad rebelled against Idrīs II, occupied Malaga easily and later imprisoned him in the castle of Airos in 1046-7 A. C. Muḥammad, who was brave and rash loved the camp life. People plotted to raise Idrīs II to the throne but they failed and submitted. Idrīs II escaped to Sakot and Rizq Allāh, the governors of Ceuta and Tangier respectively, and thence to a Berber chief of Ronda. People went against Muḥammad of Malaga and declared Muḥammad of Algeciras as Khalīfah ; but the latter failed to restore law and order and returned to Algeciras where he died in 1048-9 A.C. Muḥammad of Malaga also died a few years later in 1053 A. C. and his nephew Idrīs III became ruler of Malaga. Soon Idrīs II was restored and he ruled peacefully until his death in 1055 A. C. Another Ḥammūdid occupied the throne. A large number of Berbers and 'Arabs under an 'Arab leader

1. The famous geographer al-Idrīsī of Sicily was his grandson.

Qāḍī 'Abd Allāh Judhāmī joined hands with Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs. The latter easily occupied Malaga in 1057 A. C. and exiled the Ḥammūdids.

Malaga was a very important port and trade centre during the Muslim rule. Its shipbuilding centre called *Dār al-ṣanā'* still survives in the form of *Atar-Zana*. The chief mosque of Malaga was later converted into a cathedral by the Christians.

III—THE BANŪ ZĪRĪ OF GRANADA (1012-1090 A. C.)

The Zīrī dynasty of Granada was founded by a Berber chief named Zāwī b. Zīrī (1012-19 A. C.). This dynasty ruled over Granada independently for about eight years until their throne was occupied by the Murābiṭīn in 1090 A. C.

The Zirid is a branch of the Ṣanhājah tribe of the Berbers. Two Zirid princes, Bulughghīn and al-Manṣūr, being displeased with their ruler joined the malcontent chief Zāwī b. Zīrī and left Ifrīqīyah for Spain along with a large number of Berbers. They were employed in the army by 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the second 'Āmirid prime minister of Cordova. They formed one of the main elements of the Berber army raised by the 'Āmirids. The Banū Zīrī had received Elvira as fief from Khalīfah Sulaymān al-Musta'īn.

Zāwī :—Zāwī b. Zīrī ruled as an independent ruler first from Elvira and then from his newly founded capital Granada on the Genil. He took part in the civil war of Cordova and fought on behalf of 'Alī b. Ḥammūd against 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murtaḍā in 1016/17 and defeated him in the region of Granada. He was a pro-Fāṭimid and achieved success in East Spain but the anti-Fāṭimid Zanātah tribe of the Berbers had gained ground in the western and central parts of Andalusia. So

Zāwī left Granada to be governed by his nephew Ḥabbūs b. Maksān and went to Ifrīqiyah.[1]

Ḥabbūs :— The new ruler Ḥabbūs b. Maksān declared himself independent and adopted the royal title of Ḥājib Ṣayf al-Dawlah. He beautified the capital by building palaces, mosques and many public buildings. The ancient capital Castilia of Elvira was destroyed in one of the turmoils in 1010. Zāwī bin Zīrī, first of the Zirids, after occupying Elvira founded his capital city at Granada and his son Ḥabbūs transferred his court there and extended and developed it further. Granada was fortified with encircling walls and beautified by constructing a royal palace (al-Qaṣr) which was highly extolled by contemporary historians. Ḥabbūs extended his principality by conquering Jaen and Cabra and made alliances with the neighbouring chiefs. He lived a simple life and left the State affairs to be managed by Samuel, a highly cultured Jew and well-versed in the Arabic language and literature. He reigned for ten years and died in 1038 A. C.

*Samuel the Prime Minister :—*Samuel Ha-Levi ben Nagdela (Ismā'īl b. Naghzalah) was a famous learned man of his time. He had begun his life as a petty shop-keeper near the palace of Abū'l Qāsim ibn 'Ārif, the wazīr of Ḥabbūs. Finding Samuel meritorious, the wazīr had appointed him his own assistant. After the death of Abū'l Qāsim, Samuel was appointed wazīr. He was the first and the last Jew to hold the post of wazīr in Muslim Spain. Due to his wise administration, peace and prosperity reigned in the kingdom and Muslims and non-Muslims alike were happy. The Jews out of esteem conferred on him the princely title 'Naghīd' in

1. *Cf.* Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, pp. 21, 28 ; *Cf. Al-Andalus*, VI, 1941, p. 18 ; Albornoz, *La España Musulmana*, II, pp. 44-53.

1027 A. C. He was a poet and a philosopher as well. He wrote, in Hebrew, an introduction to the *Talmud* and twenty-two works on grammar, the most important being the book of *Riches*. For his learning he became known even as far as in Persia, Palestine and Egypt. He died in 1055 A. C.

Samuel (Ismā‘īl) was succeeded by his incapable son Yūsuf (Joseph) to the post of wazīr. He poisoned the heir-apparent and wanted to establish a Jewish kingdom. He held the verses of the Qur'ān to ridicule and publicly declared Islām to be a false religion. His anti-Islamic and oppressive policy was naturally not liked by the ‘Arabs and Berbers, therefore, at the instigation of the famous ‘Arab faqīh and poet Abū Isḥāq of Elvira (d. 1066),[1] Yūsuf was killed along with 3,000 Jews on the 30th December 1066.

Bādīs :—The most outstanding figures among the party rulers were Bādīs and al-Mu‘taḍid holding the throne of the very significant kingdoms of Granada and Seville respectively. They were the products of the two opposing factions of Berbers and ‘Arabs. Bādīs, by origin a Berber and by birth a Spaniard, spoke Arabic badly and epitomized the Berbers in his uneducated and uncivilized condition. Bādīs succeeded his father Ḥabbūs in 1038 A. D. His long and successful reign of thirty-five years (1038-1073 A. C.) marked the culminating point of the Zirid power in Spain. There was rivalry between Granada and Almeria. At that time Almeria was ruled by Zuhayr and his ‘Arab prime minister Ibn ‘Abbās, who was no less remarkable than Samuel. Both the king and the wazīr took

1. *Cf.* Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp.651-52 for the English translation of the poem that the poet wrote against the Jews ; *Cf.* Arabic text and Spanish translation *Un alfaqui español Abū Isḥāq de Elvira* by Emilio Garcia Gomez, Madrid, 1944.

great interest in literary activities and collected 100,000 books in the royal library. In order to maintain friendly relations and to continue the alliance with the king of Almeria, Bādīs invited Zuhayr. To the astonishment of the king of Granada he came with a large number of force, insulted Bādīs while attending the party and assumed an arrogant attitude towards Bādīs. The enraged force of Bādīs lying in ambush attacked that of Zuhayr in the pass of Alpuente while they were returning in 1038 A. C. Zuhayr with a large number of men was killed in the pass of Alpuente. Ibn 'Abbās prime minister of Zuhayr was also caught and killed. Almeria was, however, attacked and occupied by Manṣūr al-Maghāmirī of Valencia. Some of his 'Arab subjects plotted against Bādīs, the leader of the conspirators being an 'Arab adventurer Abū'l Fatḥ who had studied literature, philosophy and astronomy at Baghdād and was, besides, a gallant soldier. He left his native land Jurjān and came to Spain in 1015 A. C. Abū al-Fatḥ served in the courts at Denia and Saragossa and then settled in Granada and delivered lectures on ancient poetry especially on the *Ḥamāsah* (the anthology) of Abū Tammām.[1] He instigated Yazir, cousin of Bādīs, to occupy the throne but the conspiracy was unearthed. Yazir and many of the conspirators escaped to Seville, but Abū'l Fatḥ was caught and killed in 1039 A. C. In the same year Bādīs assassinated his younger brother, Bulughghīn, who had delayed in killing Ibn 'Abbās. Bādīs defeated the forces of Valencia and Seville and occupied some of their territories. After dealing with the internal and external enemies he renounced the suzerainty of the Ḥammūdid ruler of Malaga and annexed his dominions in 1058 A. C.

1. Cf. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 617-18, p. 618 n[1].

At that time the ‘Abbādids were rising to power in Seville and al-Mu‘taḍid ibn ‘Abbād annexed the Berber kingdoms of Ronda, Jerez (Ar. Sharīsh) and Arcos. The only Berber chief to resist the rising power of the ‘Arabs of Seville was that of the Banū Zīrī of Granada. Bādīs successfully kept his kingdom intact in spite of the rebellion of the ‘Arab subjects. He beautified and extended his capital city and built the famous Palace Dārdīk al-Rīḥ (House of the Weathercock) on the Roman ruins of Alcazaba which is still extant and is known as the *Casa de Gollo.*[1] During his time a bridge called *Puente del Cadi* was built over the Darro in 1055 A. C. by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Tawbah the Qāḍī of Granada. Many other public buildings were also constructed during his time. The hill called Saluka on which later Alhamra was constructed was fortified by Bādīs.

Successors of Bādīs :— Bādīs died in 1073 A. C, and left his grandsons, Tamīm and ‘Abd Allāh, to rule over Malaga and Granada respectively. When the Christians were rising to power and capturing town after town Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn was invited from Ifrīqīyah to save the Muslims of Spain. The battle of Zallāqah (Sacralias) was fought in 1086 A. C. as will be seen latter. Yūsuf was victorious and Alfonso VI was defeated. Tamīm and ‘Abd Allāh had also taken parts in the battle with their forces. ‘Abd Allāh was the weakest and the most worthless of all the Muslim kings of that time. His court was full of treacherous people. Qāḍī Abū Ja‘far gave him much trouble and deserted him when Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn came for the second time and besieged Granada in 1090 A. C. The Zirid palace was ruined. ‘Abd Allāh and Tamīm were taken prisoners to Aghmāt in Morocco. ‘Abd Allāh was a good calligraphist and copied the Qur’ān and decorated it.

1. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 1231.

IV—THE PETTY SLAV RULERS OF ALMERIA, MURCIA, DENIA AND THE BALEARIC ISLANDS (circa 1013-1115 A. C.)

Like the Berbers in the south of the Peninsula the Slavs formed their independent principalities in south-east Spain and in the Balearic Islands. They flourishe in the middle of the 11th century and were finally overpowered by petty Berber and 'Arab rulers at the end of the third quarter of the 11th century. They, however, continued to rule over the Balearic Islands till 1115 A. C. Among these petty Slav rulers were Khayrān (d. 419/1028) of Almeria, Zuhayr (d. 429/1038) of Murcia, Mujāhid (d. 436/1045) of Denia and the Balearic Islands. Of these Mujāhid was the most powerful. With Khayrān he took part in the politics of Cordova and made unfruitful efforts up to the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān IV for the restoration of the Umayyad dynasty in Cordova. The Slav rulers mostly wasted their energy and military strength in intrigues and alliances with the Christian rulers with the object of destroying the powers of their own brethren and neighbours. They were weak and their principalities even including those of Almeria, Murcia and Valencia did not comprise a vast territory.[1]

V—THE BANŪ HŪD OF SARAGOSSA (c. 1010-1118 A. C.)

After the conquest of Spain the Berbers were granted fiefs of barren lands or hilly tracts in the north of the country which were exposed to Christian raids. The Berber Tujibids had settled in Aragon since the conquest and their chief, Muḥammad b. Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tujibī, was appointed governor of that

1. *Cf.* Prieto y Vives, pp. 33-41; Albornoz, II, p, 9-22

province by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. Like him, his descendants ruled over Saragossa. At the time of the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty a grandson of Muḥammad Hāshim was ruling over the Upper March (the valley of the Ebro). His son al-Mundhir declared himself independent and allied with the Christian chiefs of Barcelona and Castile. He ruled successfully till his death (1023 A. C.) and Saragossa flourished under his rule. His son and grandson were not capable rulers. The former, Yaḥyā, died in 1029 A. C. and the latter, Mundhir II, was killed in a civil war in 1039 A. C. His rival ‘Abd Allāh was overpowered by the governor of Lerida. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd, who seized the government of Saragossa, adopted the title of al-Musta‘īn and founded a dynasty which ruled over Saragossa, Lerida, Calatayud and Tudela till 1118 A. C.[1]

The dynasty became known as the Banū Hūd after the name of Hūd, an ‘Arab, who had come to Spain at the time it had been conquered. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān appointed his sons as governors of different towns. He and his sons ruled over the principality of Saragossa independently with the help of the neighbouring Christians. Unfortunately we have very little historical information regarding the rulers of this dynasty and the dates of their rules are confusing and contradictory.

His son Aḥmad al-Muqtadir al-Dawlah succeeded him after his death in 1046 A. C., ruled for thirty-five years and died in 1081 A. C. He was a successful administrator and constructed many public buildings including the palace of *Dār al-Surūr* (House of Joy). His grandson Aḥmad al-Musta‘īn fought bravely against the Christians at the battle of Valtierra but was defeated

1. *Cf.* Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, pp. 45-50 ; Albornoz, II, p. 95.

and killed in 1110 A. C. His son 'Abd al-Malik 'Imād al-Dawlah ruled till Saragossa was occupied by the Christians under Ramiro in 1118 A. C.

During their rule art and architecture flourished. Numerous palaces including that of al-Ja'fariyah at Saragossa, which still stands, were constructed. The monuments of the *taifas* could not stand the test of time and disappeared except a few. The Mosque of al-Ja'fariyah is the best example of this period. It was built by Amīr Ja'far at Saragossa. Its gate is still extant. Al-Ja'fariyah Palace enjoyed great fame and has been recorded as 'the palace of gaiety' by the contemporary writers. The Banū Hūd ruler al-Muqtadir wrote a small eulogy in appreciation of the Palace built on the style of Umayyad buildings specially the sumptuous style of Ḥakam II but decorated with poorer material though more elegantly than that of the Umayyad.

VI—THE BANŪ DHŪ AL-NŪN OF TOLEDO
(1035-1085 A. C.)

The Banū Dhū al-Nūn,[1] a branch of the Hawārah tribe of the Berbers, ruled over Toledo independently for about fifty years till it was occupied by the Christians of Castile. They emigrated to Spain in the early period of Muslim rule. They were a turbulent people. During the period of the rule of Muḥammad I and 'Abd Allāh they had created trouble in Shantabariyah (Santaver) situated on the bank of the Guadiana to the north-east of Toledo. At the time of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr they held important posts in the military department. On the fall of the Umayyad dynasty the Toledans invited the

1. Prieto y Vives, pp. 51-5.

Banū Dhū al-Nūn to rule over them. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Amīr b. Mu'ṭarrif b. Dhū al-Nūn, ruler of Shantabariyah, sent his son Ismā'īl in 1035 A. C. Ismā'īl was, however, opposed by Ya'ish b. Muḥammad b. Ya'ish who had declared himself independent at Toledo. The latter was overthrown and Toledo was occupied by Ismā'īl, who adopted the title of al-Ẓafīr and appointed Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī of Toledo as his wazīr. He died in 1043/4 A. C.

Yaḥyā al-Mā'mūn b. Ismā'īl :—Ismā'īl was succeeded by his able son Yaḥyā who adopted the title of al-Mā'mūn. He was the greatest figure of his dynasty and ruled successfully for long thirty-two years (1043-1075 A. C.). In the beginning of his reign he was engaged in a struggle with Sulaymān b. Hūd of Saragossa for the possession of Guadalajara (Wādī al-Ḥajārah). Mā'mūn was defeated and forced to retire to Talavera and to seek an alliance with Ferdinand I, king of Castile and Leon, and acknowledge his suzerainty. Mā'mūn recruited the Christians in army and extended his kingdom at the cost of his Muslim neighbours. He went to the help of 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar when Valencia was attacked by the Christians on whose dispersal he himself occupied the town in 1065 A. C. He fought indicisive battles with Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muẓaffar, the Aftāsid ruler of Badajoz, and conquered Murcia and other neighbouring countries and even attacked Cordova. 'Abd al-Malik b. Jahwar, the ruler of Cordova, repulsed the attack with the help of Mu'tamid himself. The Cordovan chief Ibn 'Ukkāshah plotted against the newly appointed Viceroy of Cordova, who was the heir-designate of Mu'tamid, and handed over Cordova to Mā'mūn king of Toledo but the latter remembering the treachery of Ibn 'Ukkāshah did not trust him at all. Ibn 'Ukkāshah being

aware of Mā'mūn's enmity, poisoned him in June 1075. Mu'tamid took advantage of the confusion and attacked Cordova, killed Ibn 'Ukkāshah and captured the town and also conquered the valley of Wādī al-Kabīr and also some other parts of the Toledan kingdom. In order to fight the Muslim rivals, Mā'mūn had allied himself with the Christians of Castile and Leon and had welcomed Alfonso VI (1065-1109) to his court. Peace and prosperity prevailed during his reign and the splendour, extravagance and luxury of his court became proverbial.

Yaḥyā al-Qādir :— Mā'mūn was succeeded by his weak grandson Yaḥyā who adopted the title of al-Qādir. His weakness led to the ultimate ruin of his kingdom. He allied himself with Alfonso VI, who in return for giving him protection demanded more and more money from him. In order to pay tributes to the Christians he exacted as much as he could from his poor subjects and killed many of the notables along with the wazīr al-Ḥadīdī when they protested. The dissatisfied people rebelled and turned al-Qādir out of the city and invited al-Mutawakkil, the ruler of Badajoz, to occupy the throne. The helpless Qādir sought aid from Alfonso VI who conquered Toledo after a long siege of seven years in May 1085. Qādir was, however, driven out by his allies and he had to pass the rest of his life in Valencia till his death in 1092 A. C.

The consequence of the fall of Toledo was immense. With this well-fortified city, the whole territory of the Lower and Middle Marches fell into the hands of the Christians for ever. The Christian rulers of the North had taken advantage of the disintegration of the Umayyad Empire and started collecting tributes from the Muslim petty rulers instead of paying tributes to any one of them. The occupation of this city had so long helped the Musalmāns to safeguard their possessions in

the South by sending frequent expeditions into the lands of the Christians. Now the position was reversed and the Christians began to terrorize the Musalmāns in the South.[1]

VII—THE BANŪ 'ABBĀD OF SEVILLE
(1023-91 A. C.)

Among the numerous small states, which grew in the first quarter of the 11th century on the fall of the Umayyad Khilāfat of Cordova, the kingdom of Seville founded by the 'Arab dynasty of the 'Abbādids was the most important and brilliant.[2]

The 'Abbādids claimed their descent from the ancient Lakhmite dynasty of al-Ḥīrah. In fact they belonged to the Lakhmite tribe of Yaman. Their ancestor I'ṭāf b. Nu'aym had come to Spain with Balj ibn Bishr from Arīsh, a town of Ḥimṣ (Emesa, the frontier district of Egypt and Syria). He had settled at Yaumin a village on the bank of the Guadalquivir.

Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad I :—The dynasty was founded in 1023 A. C. by Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad I, son of Ismā'īl, who was the great-great-grandson of 'Abbād. Abū'l Qāsim, a great soldier as well as a learned jurist, was the Qāḍī of Seville. He was loved by the people so much that the administration of the town was handed over to him. He established a popular government, his chief counsellors being his partisans Muḥammad b. Yarīm, Hawzānī, Ibn Ḥajjāj and Abū Bakr Zubaydī, the tutor of Hishām II. He collected a force consisting of the 'Arabs, Berbers and Slavs and conquered

1. *Cf.* Prieto y Vives. *Los Reyes de Taifas*, p. 78 and n.2
2. *Cf. Ibid*, pp. 69-76, Albornoz, *La España Musulmana*, II, pp. 33, 120, 339.

the strong fortresses of the Christians called the Two Brothers (*Ar. al-Akhawān* and Sp. *Alafoens*). The Christian captives were employed as soldiers.

Abū'l Qāsim saved his kingdom by giving his son 'Abbād as a hostage to Yaḥyā b. 'Alī of Malaga when he attacked Seville in 1027 A. C. This sacrifice made him very popular. He dismissed his four partisans including Zubaydī who was exiled to Qayrawān from where he came to Almeria and accepted the post of Qāḍī. Abū'l Qāsim captured Beja, Badajoz and neighbouring countries and even threatened Ibn Jahwar, the president of Cordova. In March 1030 he released the Aftāsid ruler of Badajoz, Muḥammad, who had been taken captive previously. Four years later in 1034 A. C., while Abū'l Qāsim's son Ismā'īl was passing through a defile to attack Leon the Aftāsids of Badajoz counter-attacked him under the leadership of their ruler 'Abd Allāh. Ismā'il barely escaped with his life.

By this time (1034 A. C.) Yaḥā of Malaga had improved his power and strength so much that he became the accepted leader of the Berber chiefs. He threatened the stability of Cordova and Seville. To meet this imminent danger it was imperative that the 'Arabs and Slavs should sink their differences. In order to rally the people who were disgusted with tribal feuds and who wanted to have Umayyad rule restored in the country, Abū'l Qāsim brought in a man who claimed to be Hishām II. This man was in fact one Khalaf, a mat maker of Calatrava. Khalaf resembled Hishām II so strongly that the people took him for Hishām II without any suspicion. Under the patronage of this pseudo Khalīfah, Abū'l Qāsim, as his ḥājib, urged the 'Arab and Slav lords to take up arms on behalf of the Khalīfah. The 'Arab chiefs submitted

to Hishām II and thus Qāsim established his authority in the neighbouring countries. Abū'l Ḥazm ibn Jahwar also submitted for a time in November 1035. Ismā'īl marched at the head of the combined forces of the 'Arabs and Slavs and attacked Yaḥyā of Malaga the accepted leader of the Berbers, defeated and killed him and occupied Carmona. Next he marched to attack Zuhayr the Slav chief of Almeria who had refused to submit to Hishām II. Forced by the Sevillans, Zuhayr allied with the Granadans. With the help of Abū'l Fatḥ, a very learned man and great chief of Granada and Yaḥyā the cousin of Bādīs, Abū'l Qāsim tried to create confusion in Granada but the conspiracy was detected and Abū'l Fatḥ was put to death in 1039 A. C.

Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad I died in 1042 A· C. after a reign of twenty years. He founded a kingdom at Seville where the hated and despised 'Arabs had found shelter.

Abū 'Amr 'Abbād al-Mu'taḍid :- Abū'l Qāsim was succeeded as prime minister to Hishām II, the pretender, by his son Abū 'Amr 'Abbād when he was twenty-six. 'Abbād assumed the title of ḥājib and sometimes later, the sobriquet of al-Mu'taḍid billāh. He was a worthy rival of Bādīs the leader of the opposition party. Al-Mu'taḍid personally directed all campaigns. He was a distinguished poet, a patron of arts and letters and an able administrator like his father but, all the same, a drunkard and believer in sorcery. It is said that he had a fancy for using the skulls of his enemies as wine cups after inscribing on them the name of the victims and their alleged guilts. It is also said that al-Mu'taḍid was fond of planting flowers in the craniums of his enemies and decorate his terrace with these flower pots. He kept eight hundred chosen slave girls in his ḥaram. He was energetic, ruthless and violent. Like Ḥājib al-Manṣūr he installed fear in his subjects by killing his

own son Ismā'il in cold blood on the receipt of a report of his treason. Al-Mu'taḍid had a perfect system of espionage in order to support his political aims. Just after his accession to the throne, he turned his arms against the Berbers and extended his territory at the cost of the Banū Birzal a Berber dynasty ruling over Carmona and its region. He continued the war begun by his father against Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh who fell into an ambush and was killed in 1042 A. C. In order to extend his kingdom towards the Atlantic Ocean in the west he fought against Ibn Tayfūr, the Berber lord of Mertola, and his ally Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣūbī, the 'Arab chief of Niebla (Ar. Lablah), and wrested Mertola in 1044 A. C. Next came the turn of the chief of Niebla who had allied with the Berber bloc comprising Bādīs of Granada, Muḥammad of Malaga, another Muḥammad of Algeciras and Muẓaffar of Badajoz. The latter went to the rescue of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and drove out Mu'taḍid. Abū'l Walīd, who had succeeded his father Abū'l Ḥazm ibn Jahwar in 1043 A. C., tried his best to reconcile the two hostile 'Arab and Berber groups but failed. The combined forces of the Berbers marched to attack Seville but were thwarted by Mu'taḍid. He attacked Badajoz in vain. Mu'taḍid won over Ibn Yaḥyā of Niebla which was soon attacked by Muẓaffar to punish the turncoat. Mu'taḍid went to the rescue of Ibn Yaḥyā and defeated the troops of Badajoz. He sent his son Ismā'īl to attack Evora north of Beja whose ruler Muẓaffar was defeated and about 3,000 of his troops with the prince of Carmona were killed in the battlefield. As a result of the negotiations by Abū'l Walīd of Cordova, Muẓaffar and Mu'taḍid concluded peace in July 1051. Soon Mu'taḍid attacked Niebla which fell without any severe resistance. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the Bakrite ruler of Huelva and the little island of Saltes, also surrendered

his principality to Mu'taḍid and took shelter in Cordova. Next Mu'taḍid sent his young son Muḥammad, who was only thirteen years old, to attack Silves. The 'Arab chiefs of the Banī Mūzaynah tribe resisted stubbornly. The fort was stormed in 1051-2 A.C. and its chief was defeated and exiled. Prince Muḥammad then turned his arms against Santa Maria de Algarve[1] and its ruler, Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, could not resist for long and the town fell into the hands of the 'Abbādids. Mu'taḍid appointed his son Muḥammad governor of Silves and Santa Maria in 1055 A. C.

After extending his principality on the western side Mu'taḍid turned his arms towards the south where the Berber princes held sway. Most of them recognised his formal suzerainty. He paid unexpected visits to Morona and Ronda and was warmly received. The Berber chiefs conspired to kill him, while he was asleep, but a sense of hospitality urged Mu'ādh ibn Abī Qurrā, a kinsman of the chief of Ronda, to save the guest. On his return Mu'taḍid sent gifts to the chiefs of Ronda and Morona. He invited sixty chiefs of Ronda, Morona and Jerez to Seville in 1053 A. C. and killed all of them except the saviour of his own life, Mu'ādh, who was given a palace and a sum of 12,000 ducats. Later he was given a command in the Sevillan army. Mu'taḍid conquered Morona, Arcos, Jerez, Ronda and other towns with the help of the 'Arab soldiers.

While Mu'taḍid, the 'Arab chief, rose to power, his rival Bādīs, the leader of the Berbers, was busy in strengthening himself. The latter planned to kill his 'Arab subjects to a man but he was dissuaded with great difficulty from carrying out this plan. Then armed with his men and refugees from Morona, Arcos, Jerez and Ronda, Bādīs invaded Seville. However, so

1. Shantamariyah al-gharb now known as Faro.

stubbornly did the Sevillans resist that the invaders were repulsed and the Berber refugees were expelled. They now crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and reached Ifrīqīyah where they perished in a famine.

Mu'taḍid next attacked in 1058 A. C. the weak Ḥammūdid chief of Algeciras, Qāsim, who was defeated and compelled to take shelter in Cordova. After completing his conquest in the west and the south, Qāsim removed in 1058 A. C. the false Hishām II on whose behalf he had so long ruled, and declared himself Amīr of all Spain and determined to seize Cordova, the former capital. His troops had attacked Cordova several times previously. In 1063 A. C. he ordered his son Ismā'īl to conquer the half-ruined town of al-Zahrā. He needed a strong force for this task as he was certain that Bādīs would come to the help of the Cordovans. When the force demanded was not supplied, Ismā'īl at the instigation of Abū 'Abd Allāh, an adventurer of Malaga, attempted to declare himself independent at Algeciras. He, however, failed and submitted and was put into prison and his partisans including the chief Bizilyānī were killed. Fearing the same fate, Ismā'īl tried to escape but was caught and killed by Mu'taḍid.

The 'Arabs of Malaga, who were unhappy under the rule of Bādīs, conspired with Mu'taḍid against Bādīs. On the appointed day a general rebellion broke out in Malaga and in twenty-five other cities and fortresses. The Sevillans, under the command of Prince Abū'l Qāṣim Muḥammad, came to the aid of the insurgents. The Berbers being taken unawares were defeated. The whole principality of Malaga fell into the hands of the Prince but the Negro garrison of the strong fort resisted till Bādīs came to its rescue. He caught the Sevillans unarmed and many of them in an intoxicated condition, and

was able to inflict a severe defeat upon them. Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad escaped to Ronda. Mu'taḍid was very angry with him for his lack of courage but on receiving a pathetic and scholarly letter begging forgiveness he excused him.

Christian Raids :—In the first half of the 11th century the Christians were engaged in civil wars but towards 1055 A. C. Fernando I, king of Castile and Leon, took the offensive against the Muslims who were not strong enough to resist him. He wrested Badajoz from Muẓaffar in 1057 A. C., some fortresses south of the Douro from the king of Saragossa, and devastating Toledo reached Alcala de Henares. The Toledan king, Mā'mūn, instead of resisting the enemy, followed the example of the rulers of Badajoz and Saragossa and acknowledged his suzerainty. In 1063 A. C. Fernando raided the territory of Seville. Though Mu'taḍid was unquestionably the greatest Muslim king in Andalucia, yet he could not resist the rising power of the Christians. Fernando agreed to raise the siege of Seville on condition that Mu'taḍid would pay an annual tribute and deliver up the body of St. Justa to the envoys of Fernando. The latter sent as his envoys Alvitus, Bishop of Leon, and Ordoño, Bishop of Astorga. They could not discover the body of St. Justa but found the body of St. Isidore which they took back. Fernando I captured Coimbra after a siege of six months in 1064 A. C. He took away as captives 500 Muslims and banished the rest from the towns and from the country between the Douro and Mondego. Next he attacked Valencia. 'Abd al-Malik, who had succeeded his father 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1061 A. C., was defeated near Paterna, bu he escaped with a remnant of his force. The strong fortress of Barbastro in the south-east of Huesca was destroyed by the Normans, who killed many Muslims and

non-Muslims. But soon they left Spain, and Muqtadir ruler of Saragossa, with the help of 500 Sevillans, recaptured Barbastro in the spring of 1065 A. C. Fernando I tried to capture Valencia but 'Abd al-Malik was reinforced by his father-in-law Mā'mūn of Toledo. The Christian king retreated. In November 1065, Mā'mūn dethroned his son-in-law and occupied Valencia. Fernando died in December 1065 and his realm was divided among his three sons of whom Alfonso VI who received Leon as his share declared crusades against the Muslims. This was the time when Muslim Spain was threatened with danger from North Spain as well as North Africa.

In 1067 A. C. Mu'taḍid annexed Carmona to his kingdom but he died two years later on February 28, 1069 A. C. Before he died he had fortified Gibraltar and posted a garrison there to safeguard his own kingdom from the rising power of the Almoravids in Ifrīqīyah. In his thirty years' reign he extended considerably his kingdom in the west and the south at the expense of the Berbers whose number had greatly increased since the 'Āmirid despotism. Mu'taḍid detested the Berbers, who were the bitterest enemies of his dynasty. He was a diplomat and strategist but never led a force against the enemy, and succeeded in destroying their power albeit partially. Mu'taḍid was himself a poet and patronized poetry.

Mu'tamid :—Mu'taḍid was succeeded by his son, Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad II al-Mu'tamid (1069-1091 A. C.), who ranked with the best 'Arab poets of all time.[1] He was a classic example of a Spanish 'Arab and surpassed his father in intellectual attainments. He was very learned and took greater interest in arts and literatures as well as amusements than in politics and was distinguished for the excellence of the

1. Hole, *Andalus*, p. 25.

style and elegance of his poetry. He passed his days generally in merrymaking and was devoted to his wife, I'timād al-Rumaykiyah, reputed to be as beautiful and cultured as Nūr Jahān of India. She has been rightly compared for her wit and eloquence with Wallādah of Cordova. Mu'tamid tried to satisfy her whims and fancies and, for her pleasure he ordered the Sierra of Cordova to be planted with almond trees[1] which he wanted to show to Rumaykiyah in their snow like blossom towards the end of winter and provided her with a pool of perfume consisting of aromatic spices and rose water for treading in accompanied by her slave girls. His wazīr Ibn 'Ammār, who was also a man of letters, was associated with Mu'tamid from the time of his governorship of Silves. At the age of twelve the prince had been appointed governor of Silves, capital of the Algarve. There he came under the influece of this local poet, Ibn 'Ammār, who was senior to him in age and superior to him in intellect and shrewdness but since the poet was an upstart, coarse in appearance and poor in condition, these shortcomings proved to be barriers for his advancement in position among the nobility. He was born at Shannabus, a village near Silves, received education at Silves and Cordova and earned his bread by writing panegyrics. As Mu'tamid himself was a poet, he was thrilled by the verses of Ibn 'Ammār and had him appointed as his assistant. During his short companionship at Silves he earned so much favours from and confidence of Mu'tamid that the latter took him to Seville. While the two friends were walking along the banks of the Guadalquivir in the Meadow of Silver (Prado de Plato) one evening, Mu'tamid came in contact with the beautiful al-Rumaykiyah a muleteer equally well-versed in poetry, fell in love with her and later married

1. *Cf.* Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 539.

her. Their close relationship was not liked by al-Mu'taḍid who banished the prince's confidant, Ibn 'Ammār. The latter lived at the court of Banū Hūd of Saragossa until Mu'tamid succeeded his father and appointed Ibn 'Ammār governor of the Algarve. Later he was recalled and appointed minister. At Silves and Seville, Ibn 'Ammār and Mu'tamid had given themselves up to merrymaking and pleasures. Now, they often visited the 'Silver Field' on the banks of the Guadalquivir and held literary discourses.

When Cordova was attacked by Mā'mūn, the king of Toledo. in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, son of Abū'l Walīd ibn Jahwar, al-Mu'tamid helped him in repulsing the attack but only to capture it himself later in 1070 A.C. Mu'tamid appointed his own heir-designate, 'Abbād, the governor of Cordova in January 1075. At the instigation of Mā'mūn, Ibn 'Ukkāshah, an influential man of Cordova, killed the new governor and his general Muḥammad b. Martin. Thus, Mā'mūn became master of Cordova, but the rivalry between 'Ukkāshah and Mā'mūn gave Mu'tamid an opportunity to punish 'Ukkāshah and re-occupy Cordova in 1078 A. C. He strengthened his position further by conquering the lands of Wādī al-Kabīr and some important parts of the Toledan kingdom between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana.

Following Ibn Khallikān, Hitti states that Mu'tamid was the most munificent, popular and powerful of all the petty kings of Spain but his last days were as miserable as his early days were gay.[1] He was as a lion to the Muslim chiefs but a lamb to the Christians of Castile and Leon. As he paid regular tribute to Alfonso VI, son of Ferdinand I, he believed strongly that Alfonso would not attack him. Lulled into a sense of security he passed his days in merrymaking. The consequence was that the revenue

1. *History of the Arabs*, pp. 538-9.

decreased and his soldiers' pay fell into arrears and his officers became slack and negligent. On the other hand, the Christians of Castile gradually built up a strong army and came with a large force to attack Seville. Mu'tamid was not in a position to offer resistance. But the shrewd Ibn 'Ammār, the prime minister, invited the Christinn king to a game of chess with Seville as stake. Hole says, "He was renowned all over Spain, and even Alfonso VI, who was steadily increasing his pressure on the Taifas, judged him the most eminent man in the peninsula."[1] The Christian king was defeated in the game and had to content himself wlth merely double the usual tribute. By the middle of the 11th century the Christians had forced many rival Muslim States of Spain to purchase their temporary neutrality.

Ibn 'Ammār defeated Abū Bakr ibn Zaydūn and conquered Murcia, where he attempted to declare himself independent with the help of Ibn Rashīq the 'Arab chief of the castle of Balj (Vilches). He started ruling over Murcia independently, fell out of the grace of Mu'tamid and fled to Saragossa without resisting the forces sent against him by the 'Abbadid ruler. He was betrayed by Ibn Rashīq and arrested by the Banū Suhayl who sold him to Mu'taḍid with the fort of Segura and imprisoned at Seville. However, soon after reconciliation took place albeit for a short time and Ibn 'Ammār's boasting displeased Mu'tamid once so much that he was chased and killed by his master who then appointed Abū Bakr ibn Zaydūn as his prime minister.

While Alfonso VI was besieging Toledo in 1085, he sent his Jewish officer Ibn Shalib to collect tribute from Seville. Ibn Shalib refused to accept money of impure metal which Mu'tamid had to strike and circulate largely because he had little gold and silver. His insulting and threatening words enraged Mu'tamid so much that

1. *Andalus*, p. 172.

he put him to death. Thereupon Alfonso VI, who had already occupied Toledo in 1085 A. C. and firmly resolved to conquer the whole of Spain, invaded the kingdom of Seville with 4,000 soldiers supported by the Mozarabs, sacked the towns of Axarafe (al-Sharaf) and overran the country up to the Mediterranean coast. It was only then that the Muslim chiefs of Seville, Granada, Badajoz and other places realised that the Christians wanted to crush the Muslim power in Spain. They, therefore, united to give battle to the common foe. But their combined forces led by al-Mu'tamid were not strong enough to face the Christian force. They, therefore, had to seek help from abroad. The Qāḍīs of Cordova, Granada and Badajoz Ibn Adham, Abū Ja'far Kala'i and Abū Isḥāq ibn Mukānā respectively headed by the prime minister Abū Bakr ibn Zaydūn were sent to Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, the Murābiṭīn king of Ifrīqīyah, to invite him to Spain in order to fight against Alfonso VI. Yūsuf came and defeated the Christians in the battle of Zallāqah (Sacralias) near Badajoz on the 23rd Oct. 1086 A. C. The Muslims had 20,000 soldiers while the Christians had fifty to sixty thousand. But the Muslims could not reap the fruit of this brilliant victory because Yūsuf whose eldest son had meanwhile died at Ceuta had to return to Ifrīqīyah. After his departure, the Christians began to harass the Muslim kingdoms again. Mu'tamid, under whose command Yūsuf had left 3,000 Africans, could not stand against the Christian onslaught. He, therefore, had to invite Yūsuf again but this time at the request of the fuqahā' and the people as will be described later Yūsuf wanted to rule over Spain himself. He, therfore, conquered not only Seville in 1090 A. C., but also annexed the whole of Andalucia as far the Tagus to his own Moroccan Empire. Mu'tamid was deported to Aghmāt near Morocco where he died in 1095 A. C. and left his

wife and daughters to earn their bread by manual labour. The account of his fall forms a pathetic story.

Mu'tamid was one of the enlightened Spanish rulers of the Middle ages. He was a patron of arts and letters and was renowned for his poetic taste and talents. He was liberal and tolerant, fond of luxury and ease and cared little for his kingdom. Since both the King Mu'tamid and the Prime Minister Ibn 'Ammār loved poetry above all things, Seville became the resort of the poets of the day. 'Abd al-Jalīl was among the renowned poets of his court. During the time of Mu'tamid, Seville became the rendezvous of the best scholars of the time.

CHAPTER XV

PHASE II (1091-1248 A. C.)

THE NORTH AFRICAN RULE

I—THE MURĀBITŪN (1091-1146)

Origin and Rise of the Murābiṭūn :— Five kings of Murābiṭīn dynasty[1] (Tāshufīn, Amīr al-Muslimīn Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, Amīr al-Muslimīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Tāshufīn and Abū Isḥāq) ruled for about ninety years. The Spanish word Almoravid is derived from the Arabic al-Murābiṭ which means monk living in ribāṭ (inn, fortified convent). When the Andalusian hold on Ifrīqīyah was weakened after Ḥājib al-Manṣūr, the Berbers under their spiritual leader called Murābiṭ (the holy) rose to power and established their authority over the whole of north-western Africa from Algeria to the Niger or the Senegal river. The Lamtūnah, a branch of the Ṣinhājah tribe that had fought under the banner of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr in Ifrīqīyah and Spain, used to wear lithām (veil) to protect themselves from the burning sands of the Ṣaḥārah desert. Therefore the Murābiṭīn were also known as Mulaththamūn (the people of the veil). Opinions differ regarding the origin of the Murābiṭūn or al-Mulaththamūn. Some say that they belonged to the Ḥimyarite tribe which had migrated during the reign of Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq from Yaman to Syria and then from there migrated to al-Maghrib; others maintain that they descended from the Ṣinhājah tribe of the Berbers. On his way back from pilgrimage to Makkah in 1039 A. C. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm, a Jaddālah chief of the Ṣinhājah Berber tribe met at Qayrawān Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, a Malikite jurist and ṣūfī and requested him to send a

1. *Cf. Encylopaedia of Islam*, I, 318-320; *Cf.* Pareja, *Islamologia*, I, pp. 174-5.

religious teacher to preach Islām among his tribesmen. Accordingly 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Jazūli of Nafīs (near Morocco) was sent. He constructed a ribāṭ (fortified convent) on an island in the Niger (Senegal).[1] Among his chief disciples were the two brothers of the Lamtūnah tribe, Yaḥyā b. 'Umar and Abū Bakr b. 'Umar. Soon 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn became a religio-political leader of the Berber warriors of the Lamtūnah, Maṣmūdah and other tribes. He united the rival Berber tribes, collected a force of his disciples and gave the command of the army to his chief disciple Yaḥyā b. 'Umar. He advanced as far as Wādī Dar'a and conquered Sijilmāsah. He then penetrated into the interior of the Ṣaḥārah which even Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr had failed to do. In 1059 A. C. he died fighting against the Barg͟hwāṭah Berbers, who were the followers of a religious teacher, Sāliḥ, four years after the Almoravids had entered on a phase of territorial expansion from their capital at Sijilmāsah.

Yaḥyā was succeeded by his brother Abū Bakr who defeated the Barg͟hwāṭah, annexed the former Idrisid kingdom, and issued coins in his name. Almoravid state included the whole of Morocco and Mauretania, the basin of the Senegal river in the south and the western part of Algeria in the north. The new capital of Marrākus͟h (Marrakesh) was founded in 1062. Because of the combination of religious and political aims the Almoravids succeeded in creating unity among the sub-tribes of Ṣinhājah. Entrusting the administration of the kingdom to his cousin Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn, he went to the desert to establish peace among the Murābiṭīn. On his return he was not restored to his king-

1. Camel—breading nomadic Berber tribe, the Ṣinhājah lived orginally in the steppes of the Saḥārah and moved south to the basins of the Senegal and the upper Niger. Most probably Ṣenegal is derived from their name Ṣinhājah through a dialectal variant 'Ṣanāga' (Cf. 1. Watt, p. 94)

dom but was compelled to live in exile and ultimately died in 1087/8 A.C.

Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn :—In short, this was the earlier history of the Murābiṭīn from whom Andalusian Muslim kings had sought help at a critical moment. The Murābiṭūn ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, who had previously received the title of Amīr al-Muslimīn from the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah and who had become so famous for his religious ideas that Imām Ghzzālī had contemplated paying a visit to him, crossed to Spain in late summer of 1086 A.C. with a large number of hardy Berber soldiers and landed at Algeciras which had been given to him as a base. Near Seville, the Muslim chiefs and kings including Mu'tamid joined him and the combined forces numbering about twenty thousand marched towards Badajoz. Alfonso VI met them at Zallāqah about four leagues to the south of Badajoz with about sixty thousand soldiers. A sanguinary battle was fought, as had already been partly described, on the 23rd October 1086 and a humiliating defeat was inflicted on the Christians. Alfonso VI could escape with only three hundred soldiers. Yūsuf bin Tāshufīn was now regarded as the saviour of the Andalusian Muslims. As promised Yūsuf returned to his newly built capital Marrākush but left behind some 3,000 of his experienced soldiers to serve under Mu'tamid.

After Yūsuf's departure, the Christians resumed their policy of oppression towards the Muslims. Though the Castilians had evacuated the kingdom of Valencia and raised the siege of Saragossa yet they had a dominant position among the Muslim States of Murcia, Lorca and Almeria and had posted his garrison in the strong fortress of Aledo between Murcia and Lorca. The Muslims being divided had grown weaker than the Christians and were unable to parry attacks. Mu'tamid, encouraged by the victory at Zallāqah, attempted to drive out the Christians from

the east, especially from Murcia, his army of 3,000 was defeated by only seven hundred Christian fighters. This led the Malikite fuqahā' and Muslim chiefs including Mu'tamid to invite Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn once again to Spain. Yūsuf landed at Algeciras for the second time in the spring of 1090. On his arrival Yūsuf was joined by Mu'tamid of Seville, Tamīm of Malaga, 'Abd Allāh of Granada, Mu'taṣim of Almeria and Ibn Rashīq of Murcia. They marched on the strong fortress of Aledo from where the Castilians used to commit outrages in Muslim lands. The fort was defended by 13,000 Christians and the siege dragged on for four months. Mutual jealousy raised its head again in the Muslim camp. Mu'taṣim hated Mu'tamid and tried to disgrace him in the eyes of Yūsuf, while the king of Almeria tried to ruin the ruler of Seville, the latter endeavoured to overthrow Ibn Rashīq, who had occupied his territory, Murcia, and helped the Christians of Aledo against the Muslims. They lacked foresight and accused one another before Yūsuf. Ibn Rashīq was put into prison and the Murcians left the camp and refused henceforth to supply men, money and provision. Shortage of food and growth of jealousy among the Muslim chiefs compelled Yūsuf to raise the siege and retire to Lorca. The party rulers were suspicious of one another and were unable to resist Alfonso, Yūsuf therefore keeping the interests of the Muslims as a whole thought of unifying Andalus under himself. On the instigation of the Malikite fuqahā, Yūsuf besieged Granada and owing to the treachery of Qāḍī Abū Ja'far it easily fell into the hands of Yūsuf. The latter then returned to Morocco leaving his deputy Sir b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Tāshufīn in Spain.[1]

1, *Cf.* Codera. *Familia real de los Benitexufin* in *Revista de Aragon*, 1903, and *Coleccion de estudios arabes*, t. IX, p. 75 quoted by Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, p. 83 n.[1]

The Muslim chiefs of Malaga, Cordova, Seville and other places then sought the help of the Christians against Yūsuf's representative. Armed with the fatwā of jihād which was confirmed by the 'ulamā' of Spain, North Africa and Asia including Imām Ghazzālī, Sir b. Abū Bakr waged wars against the petty rulers, captured Cordova and laid siege to Seville. The forces of Castile under Alvar Fañez despatched to the help of Mu'tamid were defeated near Almodover by a detachment of Sir b. Abū Bakr's troops.

Seville fell after a long resistance on September 7, 1090 A. C. and Mu'tamid was sent along with his family as a prisoner to Aghmāt. Mertola and Ronda defended by the two sons of Mu'tamid, Mu'tad and Rāḍī, also fell into the hands of the Almoravids. Almeria, Murcia, Denia, Jativa, Badajoz and other important places except Valencia in the east which was defended by the Christian chief, Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar generally known as the Cid (Ar. Saiyid),[1] fell one after another into the

1. The Cid flourished in the later part of the 11th century. Cid (Sayyid meaning lord) is used par excellence of Rodrigo or Ruy Dīaz of Vivar (or Bivar near Burgos) a Christian noble popularly known as el Cid Campeador (Challenger). He was addressed as Saiyid (Cid) by his Muslim soldiers. In the civil wars that followed the death of Ferdinand I, he took part of Sancho II of Castile after whose death he joined Alfonso VI. The latter sent him to Seville to collect tribute from the 'Abbādid ruler. On his return, he was accused of appropriating money from the tribute and was banished from Castile in 1081. With a band of warriors he wandered over north-east Spain and rendering military aid he acquired wealth and fame. While Muslim Spain was suffering from the weak government of petty rulers and Christian raids he carried on military exploits in the North and East Spain. He was a mercenary soldier and fought for those who paid him. Finally he volunteered his services as a military general to the Banū Hūd of Saragossa. In 1086 when revolt broke out in Valencia, the Banū Hūd ruler sent a military aid consisting of Muslim

hands of Sir b. Abū Bakr about 1094. Valencia fell in 1102 A. C. after the death of the Cid while it was defended by his widow Jimena. The victory of the Murābiṭīn was an indication of the great military superiority of Almoravids over Alfonso VI.

With the exception of Saragossa which was ruled by the Banū Hūd chief Musta'īn and La Sahla, which belonged to the Banū Razīn, the whole of Andalucia fell within three years into the hands of the Murābiṭīn and thirteen Muslim kings of Spain became tributary to Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn. Under the new set-up the economic condition of Spain improved. Despite the imperfect system of revenue collection Yūsuf left about 60,000 seers (120,000 pounds) of gold to his successor. He abolished taxes which were not prescribed by the Qur'ān. Living was cheap and the people enjoyed peace under the Murābiṭīn.

Because of the emphasis on Islām as a relegion and the influence of the jurists the life of the Christians and Jews under Almoravids became a bit difficult. The Mozarabs were, however, not always loyal to the Muslim rulers especially

and Christian soldiers under him. Rodrigo Diaz succeeded in restoring the authority of the Valencian ruler and obtained an upper hand in the administration of Valencia ignoring his obligation to the Saragossan ruler. In 1092 on the death of the Valencian ruler he converted his *defacto* rule into a *de jure* one. He was a self made man and as a Valencian monarch he was cruel and fought against neighbouring Christian and Muslim rulers. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona and another to a prince of Navarre. He defended Valencia against the Murābiṭīn attacks till he died in 1099 A.D. Despite his close association with Muslims he was adopted as Knight by Christian Spain. (Cf. R. Menendez Pidal, *El España de Mio Cid*, 1929 (Engl. tr. *The Cid and his Spain*, London, 1934).

'Party kings' and often intrigued with and helped the Christian rulers in their incursions into Muslim territory. With their co-operation Alfonso VI could maintain his large army consisting of 4,000 soldiers in the Muslim area against the Murābiṭīn for nine months and at the time of the withdrawal of the Christians, thousands of them followed the Christian king for fear of reprisals. Many of those who remained were settled in the towns of Safi and Meknes by 'Alī ibn Yūsuf. The Christians and the Jews enjoyed religious freedom but were not allowed to build new churches and synagogues. The free thinkers, who had been patronized by the Muslim petty rulers, were discouraged by the Murābiṭīn. Though secular poets found a very few patrons, decorative art and popular forms of poetry and song flourished under the Murābiṭīn.

'Alī bin Yūsuf:—'Alī surnamed Abū'l Ḥasan, the son and successor of Yūsuf bin Tāshufīn, was twenty-three years of age when he ascended the throne of Morocco in 1107 A.C. He appointed loyal and experienced governors in the different provinces and towns of Andalucia. By helping the people of Saragossa against the Banū Hūd, Tamīm, son of Yūsuf[1] and governor of Valencia got easy possession of Saragossa, the key to the Ebro valley, in 1110 A.C. 'Imād al-Dawlah, the ruler of Saragossa, fled to Rueda where he died in 1130 A. C. Tamīm attacked the dominion of Alfonso VI but was defeated. Sancho, son of Alfonso by a Muslim wife named Zubaydah the daughter of Mu'tamid, was killed in the battle. Alfonso, however, died a few months later. Tamīm received one hundred thousand Ifriqīyan soldiers with whose help he captured a large part of Castile and destroyed many forts after the death of Alfonso. Sir bin Abū Bakr, the Murābiṭīn general, attacked western Spain and captured Lisbon and Santaren. But after the death of Tamīm,

the brother of 'Alī, the Christians under the command of *el Batallador* of Aragon, Alfonso I, recaptured Saragossa, Calatayud and other important places beyond the Tagus with the help of the French. A large part of western Spain which today forms Portugal, and the Douro valley were also lost to 'Alī b. Yūsuf. 'Alī himself came with a large force to crush the power of the Christians. When he reached Cordova he heard about a rising in Ifrīqīyah and returned to die in 1145 A. C.

'Alī was not as capable as his father. He neglected his administrative work and spent most of his time in meditation and prayer. He was dominated by his wife, Qamar, and the administration was, practically, carried on from the *ḥaram*. People were not happy and nobles began to aspire to the throne. Governors, commanders and soldiers also neglected their duties. The Berbers, in the midst of their wealth and power, introduced some un-Islamic principles and plunged into evil ways. It was, however, the period when intellectual pleasures were cultivated in preference to the art of war.

II—THE MUWAḤḤIDŪN (1146—1248 A. C.)

Origin and Rise of al-Muwaḥḥidīn :—The Muwaḥḥidūn were the mountaineers from the Atlas belonging to the Maṣmūdah tribe. At the beginning of the 12th century A. C. a religious reformer of the Maṣmūdah tribe appeared in Ifrīqīyah. He was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh b. Tūmart (ca. 1078-1130).[1] He came of the Hintata tribe of the Atlas born in about 1082. His father was a mosque lamp-lighter in the village of Sūs and was, therefore, called Sarrāj. While young, as

1. Marrākushi, the *Kitāb al-Mu'jib*, p. 128 ; Ibn khallikān, Vol. II, p. 426 ; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 546. Tūmart is a Berber diminutive of 'Umar.

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a student he visited Cordova, Cairo and Baghdād, the three centres of learning and culture in the 'Arab world, and studied philosophy and jurisprudence under illustrious teachers like al-Ghazzāli and Abū Bakr of Tortosa. He learnt Ash'arism in the Niẓāmiyah College at Baghdād and acquired reforming zeal. At Cordova, Imām Ghazzāli's works were proscribed. This might have had a profound effect upon the mind of the pupil. However, the young traveller returned to his native village Sūs. Disgusted with the laxity of morals among the Berbers inhabiting the vast chain of mountains which tntersect Mauretania, he started the work of reform by the example of his life as well as by preaching in his village mosque. He condemned the *taqlīd* and believed in the Qur'ān, sunnah and *ijmā' al-ṣaḥābah* (the concord of the companions of the Prophet). He declared himself later the *Mahdī* as a sort of Muslim *Masīḥ* and preached the doctrine of Tawḥīd, the unity of God, and so his followers came to be known as Muwaḥḍidūn. He elaborated Islamic dogma in new form and started preaching to the passengers and crew on the ship from Alexandria and to the citizens of the towns he visited. Sometimes he was opposed violently. A large number of disciples called al-Muwaḥḥidūn (Unitarians) followed him to Morocco.

The Mahdī's first and chief disciple was 'Abd al-Mu'min who was the son of 'Alī, a rich Berber potter of the Kumiya tribe of Nedrona. 'Abd al-Mu'min had met his teacher near Bujayah (Bougie) from which town the Maḥdī had been compelled to retire to Fez in 1117 or 1118. Even he could not stay there. At Fez he struck a sister of 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Murābiṭ as she was passing by unveiled. In consideration of his great piety he was not killed but tortured and expelled from the town. He now began to live in a cemetery outside the city. When

he was threatened with death, he went to Tinmal a well-fortified place in a hilly country situated at one day's journey from Fez. He settled there and built a mosque near the source of the river Nafīs. There he started a politico-religious movement and gave a hierarchical organisation. In 1121 he claimed to be the Mahdī. 'Abd al-Mu'min became his chief counsellor and his ten other devotees became his counsellors. There was another council of fifty members represented by the different Berber tribes of the Muwaḥḥidīn community. In the name of religion he declared war against the Murābiṭīn and exposed the evils of their administration. The result was that several Berber tribes of the mountains became hostile to the Murābiṭīn and stopped payment of taxes. The governor of Sūs was defeated and expelled. The first battle proved the shrewdness of the Mahdī and it increased the number of his followers. In the three other engagements that took place between the Muwaḥḥidīn and the Murābiṭīn the latter were defeated. Gaining much power the Mahdī attacked Morocco with his 40 000 followers but was defeated and repulsed. Although his fame was tarnished by the skilful generalship of 'Abd al-Mu'min he regained his power. Nominating him as his successor the Mahdī died between 1128 and 1130 A. C. Historians differ as to the exact date of his death, the news of which was concealed for sometime by his chief companions, 'Abd al-Mu'min could proclaime himself as his successor only three years after Ibn Tumart's death. He amalgamated the two councils, the house of lords and house of commons, described above, into one.

'Abd al-Mu'min overthows the Murābiṭīn :—'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Murābiṭ passed his early life in peace and prosperity but the latter part of his reign was marked by internal and external troubles. In order to face the rising power of the Muwaḥḥidīn

in Ifrīqīyah, he called his son Tāshufīn from Spain. So long as 'Alī b. Yūsuf lived · 'Abd al-Mu'min (1130-1163 A. C.) was kept in check. 'Aī died in 1143 A. C. and was succeeded by his son Tāshufīn (1143-1146 A. D.). Tāshufīn now raised an army consisting of 4,000 Mozarabs brought from Spain but he could not cope with the Muwaḥḥidīn. His forces were annihilated near Tilimsān (Tlemcen), which fell into the hands of the Muwaḥḥidīn. Fez, Ceuta, Tangier and Aghmāt also surrendered. Tāshufīn could not drive the invaders out and Morocco fell into the hands of 'Abd al-Mu'min after eleven months' siege in 1146 A. C. About seventy thousand hungry and famine-stricken people were killed mercilessly. From this time onwards Morocco was ruled by 'Abd al-Mu'min and his eleven successors till 1269 A. C. when it was conquered by the Marinids. In a reign of thirty-three years, 'Abd al-Mu'min pushed his frontier beyond Tripoli by 1260. This was the first Muslim Kingdom, one bigger than that of the Murābiṭīn which united the whole of North Africa from the Gulf of Gades to the Atlantic Ocean together with Muslim Spain.

Condition of Spain at the Advent of the Muwaḥḥidūn :—The Murābiṭūn had united for a time the warring elements which had become the cause of ruin of the Muslim state in Spain. The Muwaḥḥidūn checked the further expansion of the Murābiṭīn in Ifrīqīyah and, consequently, the advance of the Murābiṭīn to North Spain. At the beginning of the Murābiṭīn rule, taxes were collected unhindered, agriculture improved, industry and trade developed. But the study of poetry and philosphy was not encouraged. Ibn Bakī, one of the best poets of Andalucia, wandered hungry from town to town. Malik ibn Wuhayb of Seville intended to study philosophy but finding his life in danger gave it up and devoted himself to the study of theology. The Qāḍī of Cor-

dova, Ibn Ḥamdūn, condemned, the revival of religious science as well as the study of the philosophical works of Ghazzālī. He had the approval of 'Alī b. Yūsuf for the destruction of all the copies of Ghazzālī's book. Further, the Murābiṭīn were less interested in art and culture than in preaching and conquest. Under the influence of the 'ulamā', the churches which had been built after the Muslim conquest of Spain in violation of the terms of the treaty concluded with Mūsā bin Nuṣayr, were destroyed. A church built at Granada about 600 A. C. by Gudila, a Gothic noble, was also destroyed. The people of Spain, especially the Christians and the Jews, were not happy. They considered the Murābiṭīn to be tyrants. After the death of Alfonso VI in 1109 A. C. the Christians were involved in civil war but the Murābiṭīn failed to take advantage of the situation. They made no attempt to capture Toledo and lost Saragossa, the key to the northern marches, to *el Batallador* (the fighter) of Aragon, Alfonso I, in 1118 A. C. Just after the death of Tāshufīn, the Spanish Muslims rose up against his representative Ibn Jāmi' who fled towards the Balearic Islands. Every town and fort was occupied by the rebels. The Murābiṭīn were imprisoned in Granada. The Castilians allied themselves with Ibn Jāmi' and stormed Cordova. The Jāmi' Masjid of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I was desecrated and the ornamented box in which the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān was preserved was exposed to ridicule.

The struggle between the Murābiṭīn and the Muwaḥḥidīn in Ifrīqīyah provided the Christians with good opportunities of ravaging the Muslim territories in Spain and commiting atrocities on the Muslims. Hole observes, "Within two generations the Muslim dominions were weaker and worse governed than before Yūsuf came to defend them" against the Christians of the

North.[1] Being aware of the state of affairs in Spain, particularly the disorder in Almeria, the naval forces of Venice, Genoa and Castile united and attacked Almeria with the help of the Christian lord of Barcelona and captured it. Alfonso VII, grandson of Alfonso VI, was satisfied with the losses inflicted on the Muslims. The King of Barcelona with the help of an Italian fleet conquered Tortosa and the Ebro valley. In 1133 A. C. Alfonso VII of Castile devastated Cordova, Seville, Carmona and Cadiz, burnt Jerez[2] and overran the districts of Jaen, Baeza, Ubeda and Andujar in 1138 A. C. In 1144 the whole of Andalucia from Calatrava to Almeria was overrun and devastated. Again the Andalusian Muslims appealed for help to their Berber brethren across the Straits of Gibraltar. Since the end of the Murābiṭīn rule in 1145 there had been a period of confusion till Spain was occupied by another North African dynasty, the Muwaḥḥidīn in 1170. These twenty-five years are called the second period of party rulers. During this period small Muslim princes of Spain wavered their allegiance to the Almohades or Christian kings.

Abū ʻAmr Mūsā invades Spain :—The Muwaḥḥidūn had not conquered Ifrīqīyah fully when ʻAbd al-Mu'min sent Abū ʻAmr Mūsā with thirty thousand soldiers and a fleet to conquer Spain in 1147 A. C. Town after town opened its gates to them and the Spanish Muslims joined Mūsā's forces. The armed forces of Badajoz also joined him. Seville which still owed its power to the Murābiṭīn surrendered and the bishops who enjoyed extra-territoral immunity fled to Toledo.[3] Malaga also fell without resistance. The Murābiṭīn leader, Ibn Jāmiʻ, being defeated in several battles, fled handing over the charge of Cordova

1. *Cf. Andalus*, p. 26.
2. *Cf.* Dozy, *Recherches*, II, 1881, p. 312; *Spanish Islām*, p. 726.
3. Hole, *Andalus*, p. 50.

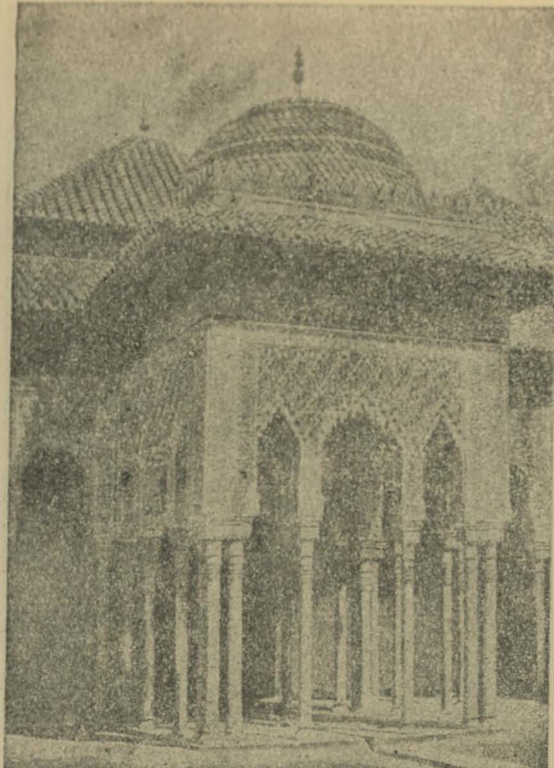
to Yaḥyā b. Ghaniya (d. 543/1148-9). Yaḥyā, however, submitted to the Muwaḥḥidīn. Thus, the Murābiṭīn governors, who had assumed independent authority in several districts, were reduced to submission and the Christians were beaten back.

Almeria, Valencia and other important places were still to be conquered but the Muwaḥḥidūn were themselves in great distress. Their thirty thousand soldiers were not at one place but distributed over a wide area. Nor had they any hope of receiving reinforcements from Ifrīqīyah because 'Abd al-Mu'min feared another Mahdist rising in Ifrīqīyah itself. This Mahdī was an ordinary washerman who had gathered a large number of disciples in the town of Sala. The people went over to his side and defeated the forces of 'Abd al-Mu'min and overran all his territories except Fez and Morocco. But ultimately the Mahdī was killed in a sanguinary battle and his disciples joined the forces of 'Abd al-Mu'min. After establishing his authority in Ifrīqīyah, 'Abd al-Mu'min sent his son Abū Sa'īd with a force of about twenty thousand to conquer Almeria which surrendered. Niebla, tributary of Seville, fell into the hands of the Muwaḥḥidīn under Abū Zakariyā but after a severe resistance. Granada was conquered by Abū Sa'īd and the garrison was exterminated. Muḥammad b. Sa'd of Valencia aided by the Toledan Christians fought twice near Granada and Cordova but was severely defeated and escaped towards Murcia. 'Abd al-Mu'min could not leave his Ifriqiyan empire earlier for fear of rebellion in his absence. Later, he proceeded as far as Gibraltar, fortified it strongly and appointed military officers in his newly conquered territory. By 1160 'Abd all-Mu'min pushed his conquest to Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli and Mahdiyah, after the conquest of which he assumed the title of Amīr al-Mu'minīn. Thus the whole North African coast from the Atlantic to the frontier of Egypt together with Andalucia became firmly united under one sceptre.

'Abd al-Mu'min divided his vast empire into provinces and appointed his sons as governors over them. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh held Bujayah (Bougie) and its dependencies while Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī, governed Fez, and Abū Sa'īd, Ceuta, Algeria and Malaga. Towards the close of his reign he planned for the conquest of the whole of Spain and collected supplies and an army of 500,000 men at Tangier, Algeciras and Gibraltar. But before he could start on his military campaigns he died in 1163 A. C. after a successful and glorious reign of thirty-three years.

Achievements of 'Abd al-Mu'min :—'Abd al-Mu'min was not only a great conqueror but a great administrator as well. He amalgamated the two councils of lords and commons into one. Old ports were repaired and extended, and new ones were constructed. The whole of the Mediterranean Sea was under the control of his white flag. Renowned scholars of the Muslim world flocked to his court. The arts and literature flourished in all parts of his empire, towns and cities had their public colleges and madrasahs. There were three thousand students in the University of Morocco itself. In the colleges and the University, students were not only given theoretical instruction but also taught the different arts, crafts and military science. The condition of Spain, however, was not satisfactory as it was administered by only a deputy and not by 'Abd al-Mu'min himself. Civil war and the threat of Christian conquest of Spain were stumbling blocks in the path of the material progress of the country.

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf :—On the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min his son Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh was raised to the throne at first but finding him inefficient, the courtiers deposed him and elected Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, the third son of 'Abd al-Mu'min, as his successor. The new king was a great soldier and statesman. In the beginning of his reign the tribes of the Atlas gave



Pavilion in the court of Lions at al-Ḥamrā' Palace, Granada



Painting in the cupula of the Room of the Kings (Sala de los reyes), al-Ḥamrā' Palace, Granada

Plate No. VII



A Moorish expedition accompanied by a Christian ally with his own flag



Morisco illustrations reproduced from a 16th century manuscript of Salwan Aben Zafer (Salman ibn Ẓafar)

Yūsuf considerable trouble. But they were compelled to submit. He sent twenty thousand of his best soldiers to Spain and himself followed them and stayed in Seville. Ibn Sa'd, the king of Valencia, was killed in the battle of Minorca. His sons could not save his kingdom (Valencia, Murcia, Lorca and other regions) from the attack of the Muwaḥḥidīn. They submitted, gave their sister in marriage to Yūsuf and exchanged their estates for others in North Africa. The valley of the Tagus up to Toledo was devastated and the frontier fort of Alcantara was conquered. During his stay of only one year in Seville, he tried to beautify it by building palaces, mosques with minarets, public baths and bridges. He constructed a bridge of boats on the Wādī al-Kabīr (Guadalquivir) and spent money on other public works. In the centre of the town he built a beautiful mosque[1] and opposite to it was the famous minaret now called the Giralda which was completed during the time of his successor. It is the finest example of the typical minaret constructed by the Andalusian Muslims.

In 1176 A. C. a severe epidemic broke out in Ifrīqīyah. Abū Ya'qūb went there and remained away from Spain for eight years. The governors of Spain took advantage of his absence to declare themselves independent. Yūsuf like his father set out to crush the power of these disloyal governors and with this object in view he gathered in Ceuta a large force consisting of seventy thousand foot and thirty thousand horse. Each tribe was led by its own chief and fought under its own flag. The Sulṭān was joined at Seville by the Berber forces of Spain. In 1184 A. C. they laid siege to Santaren where Yūsuf was fatally wounded and the Muslims were severely defeated by the Christians.

1. This mosque was built on the site of a church, which had been destroyed by the Normans long before the erection of the mosque. This was converted into Cathedral after the conquest of Seville by the Christians.

Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb :—Yūsuf was succeeded in 1184 A. C. by his son Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb born of a slave girl.[1] Ya'qūb assumed the title of al-Manṣūr bi'llāh and was the greatest ruler of his dynasty. He was a generous, just and pious king. Taxes were reduced and the acceptance of bribes and presents were forbidden. A strong and efficient police force guarded the towns and the roads. There was no robbery or theft. Old forts were repaired and many new ones constructed. Along the sides of the highways wells were excavated and inns built.

After the fall of Cordova, Seville became the most important city. Its greatest and brilliant period was the African rule under Almoravids and Almohads, and it flourished particularly under the Almohad Caliph, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. It was governed by Ṣāḥib al-madīnah assisted by qāḍī in the judiciary and muḥtasib in municipal affairs. Its busy port bustled with ocean-going boats and there were ferry boats to carry passengers and goods across the river. An aqueduct was constructed by the Almohad or Almohade ruler to supply the city with fresh and limpid water.

Seville flourished most under the Almohads in the field of art and architecture but very little is left in its original form because after the Christian re-conquest, mosques were converted into churches and their minarets into towers. The Almohad buildings were extensive and monumental and their art was more austere than decorative. The Giralda Tower of Seville was the best example of this although because of the local influence it was more ornately decorated than other buildings of Almohads in North Africa. The Giralda tower now attached to the Cathedral is one of the best-known of all Spanish monuments originally formed the minaret of the Grand Mosque

1. Marrākushī, the the *Kitāb al-Mu'jib*, p. 189.

in Seville. It was begun along with the mosque in 1172 in commemoration of the victory of Almohads at Alarcos and was completed in 1195 under the supervision of the architect, Aḥmad ibn Abū Layth. Its original small tower crowned by four golden balls on the belfry was replaced in 1568 by a weather-vane and hence became known as *giralda*. It was constructed in imitation of the Jāmiʻ al-Quṭubyah in Marrākush and the Ḥasan tower in Rabāṭ. Excluding the part added later it was 230 feet high and 44 feet square. The lower part of 87 feet of this tower which also once served the purpose of an observatory is made of stones and the remainder of brick. Instead of stairs there are ramps.[1] Another important building of the period is Alcazar which has lost its earlier beauty due to its frequent destruction by fire and earthquake and later alterations.

Like Hārūn al-Rashīd of Baghdād and ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova, he improved the irrigation system and embellished the cities with fine buildings. Those which still exist are among the most remarkable specimens of architecture in Spain. Public schools and hospitals were opened. The hospital built by Yaʻqūb in Morocco was, according to Marrākushī, second to none in the world.[2] Yaʻqūb was a munificent patron of arts and letters and had in his court some of the greatest men of his time, the famous physicians Avenzoar (Ibn Zuhr) and Avempace (Ibn Bājjah) and the philosopher Averroes (Ibn Rushd), who held the post of qāḍī at Cordova. The Spanish Muslim

1. Hole (*Andalus*, p. 27) says, "they (the Muwaḥḥidīn) adorned Seville with the Giralda, which still stands guard by the cathedral, but the Christians have added a stupid revolving saint on top."

2. *Cf.* Ibn abi Zar, Vol. I, pp. 143, 151-2 quoted by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 548 n6&7.

schools were well-versed in alchemy, medicine mathematics, astronomy and astrology which attracted students from Christian Europe. The Europeans are specially indebted to Spanish Muslims for the scholastic philosophy. The philosophy of Aristotle was sifted and developed by Ibn Rus̲h̲d. Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) sent an embassy headed by a nephew of Usāmah ibn Munqid̲h̲ to the court of Ya'qūb and the latter despatched 180 vessels to help the Muslims against the Crusaders.

Like his predecessors Ya'qūb had to face rebels just after his accession. The chiefs of the Balearic Islands still owed allegiance to the Murābiṭīn and they were joined by Ya'qūb's own brothers. These rebel brothers were killed and other rebel chiefs were punished. This was the time of the third Crusade (1189-1192). Some English knights who were at this time on their way to Jerusalem took advantage of the chaotic situation, devastated Evora, Beja and Salwis and massacred the innocent Muslim citizens. The Castilian army with some volunteers from France invaded Muslim Spain. Ya'qūb crossed over to Spain from Ifrīqīyah with 300,000 Berbers and met the Christians under Alfonso VIII at Alarcos (al-Ark) in the neighbourhood of Badajoz and Calatrava. The Muslim forces led by Ṣan'ānī and Ya'qūb lay in ambush to attack the enemy. In the beginning the Christians gained ground but ultimately the tables were turned in favour of the Muslims thanks to the clever generalship of Ṣan'ānī. The Christians met with a crushing defeat in which one hundred and forty-six thousand men were killed and thirty thousand were taken prisoners of war. These figures, however, appear to be exaggerated. Some Christians escaped to Calatrava and Alfonso to Toledo. Calatrava was stormed and cities like Guadalajara, Escelona, Salamanca which had been captured by the Christians, were reconquered. The kings of Navarre and Leon

also submitted. In November 1196 Toledo was besieged and reduced to submission but at the request of the mother and wives of Alfonso VIII the siege was raised. After defeating the Aragonese, the Sulṭān returned to Seville where he remained busy in reorganising the administration for about a year. He then retired to Morocco in November 1197 and died two years later.

Muḥammad al-Nāṣir bin Ya'qūb :—Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb succeeded his father in February 1199 and assumed the title of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. He had earned popularity and reputation as a successful administrator during his father's life time but as a ruler he did not prove to be as capable as his father. He could not maintain law and order in the country. His weakness became the primary cause of the fall of his dynasty.

The death of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr was the signal for the people of Fez and the Balearic Islands to raise the standard of rebellion once again. The rebellion of Fez was easily put down, but the rebel Yaḥyā, a descendant of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, of the Balearic Islands gave much trouble. He conquered the coastal towns as well as Mahdiyah. He even besieged Qayrawān but was completely defeated and compelled to flee to the Ṣaḥārah. In Andalucia the Christians under Alfonso IX of Castile again assumed their depredations and devastated the country up to Cordova and Seville. Muḥammad hoped to annihilate them as easily as they had been crushed at the battle of Alarcos. But this was not to be, because Alfonso had, meanwhile, increased his strength considerably. Muḥammad crossed over to Spain with 300,000 men from Ceuta. Shortly after his arrival in Seville Muḥammad executed Yūsuf ibn Kadis, the governor of Calatrava, for surrendering the fort of Calatrava to Alfonso and punished others for relinquishing frontier fortresses. Yūsuf had been loved by the people who now became discontented with Muḥammad.

The latter then, like Humāyūn of India, let his opportunity slip by and wasted eight months in capturing a small fort Silvatierra, which lay on his way to Castile. This gave Alfonso sufficient time to recover. A crusade was proclaimed against the Muslims. Castile, Leon, Navarre, Aragon and Portugal which was an independent State since 1143, joined with a large number of crusaders from other parts of Europe and in 1212 A. C. met Muḥammad at al-Akab, called *Las Navas de Tolosa* by the Spaniards. Almohads did not suffer a single defeat before the battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* where they were routed completely by a coalition of several Christian kings. While the battle was at its height, Muḥammad was deserted by sixty thousand Andalusians, who had been badly treated by Ibn Sa'd, the chamberlain of Muḥammad. The Berbers fought bravely but were defeated by the Castilians and Navarrese, who broke the iron chain which Muḥammad had put round his troops to stop them from fleeing. Great carnage was caused among the Muslims and it is said that at least 1,000,000 men were killed. It was with great difficulty that Muḥammad managed to escape to Seville with only four thousand men. With a broken heart Muḥammad retired to Morocco where he either died a natural death or, as some historians would have us believe, was poisoned by his disgusted courtiers in May 1214. As a result of the defeat of the Muslims at *Las Navas de Tolosa* about half a million Muslims emigrated to Ifrīqīyah.

Successors of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir :—Within fifteen years four successors of Muḥammad ruled nominally over Spain. The first three, Yūsuf Abū Ya'qūb al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Makhlū and Abū Muḥammad al-'Ādil, were worthless. The fourth ruler, Abū 'Alī Idrīs al-Mā'mūn, had been the governor of Seville, and succeeded his brother Abū Muḥammad when

the latter was assassinated in 1227 A. C. With the help of Ferdinand III of Castile he defeated the African force sent against him. But he had to deal with the Castilians also when they plundered his country, conquered Priego and Loja, the frontier fortresses, and besieged Jaen with the help of the Muslim Amīr of Bayḍah (Baeza). Mā'mūn came to the help of the besieged and defeated the besiegers and the other lost towns were recovered. After establishing his power in Spain, he went to North Africa to suppress a rising in 1228 A. C. but in his absence a serious rebellion broke out in Spain and the country was lost for ever to the Muwaḥḥidīn who, however, ruled over Morocco for about fifty years more i. e. up to 1260 A. C. Mā'mūn died at Morocco in 1232 A.C. He was succeeded by al-Rashīd, al-Sa'īd, Umar al-Murtaḍā and Abū'l 'Ulā abū Dablus one after another. The last ruler was killed in 1269 A. C. in a battle fought against the Berber tribe of Banū Marīn, who later established their power in the whole of Mauretania.

Spain in Desperate Condition :—After the fall of the Muwaḥḥidīn the whole of Spain witnessed a period of chaos and confusion. The Muwaḥḥidīn kings had ruled over Spain from Morocco with the result that their hold upon Spain had not been firm. The disturbed provinces of Spain could not be controlled easily by the princes, who were content with sending deputies from Morocco and with occasional expeditions to repel the attacks of the Christians. Three important independent Muslim principalities—the Banū Hūd at Murcia, Denia, Jativa and many other towns of Andalucia, Zayyān (Banū Mardānish) at Valencia and Ibn al-Aḥmar first at Arjona and next at Granada—grew up on the ruins of the Muwaḥḥidīn Empire. The 'Arab chief Ibn Hūd who made himself the master of most of the south of Spain, and even of Ceuta in Ifrīqīyah died in 1238 A. C. and

the command of Muslim Spain now devolved upon Banū Naṣr of Granada which was the only Muslim kingdom to survive for two and a half centuries against the opposition of the Christian powers of Aragon and Castile.

Alfonso VIII of Castile .was slow in profiting by his success at *Las Navas de Tolosa* and retired to the North after a few raids. The Christian reconquest accelerated its tempo under his successors. The Muslim states in the South fell one after another into the hands of Fernando III, grandson of Alfonso VIII,C ordova in 1236, Malaga in 1241, Jaen and Murcia in 1246 and Seville in December 1248. The Balearic Islands, Valencia, Elche, Alicante and Niebla also followed their suit leaving only small kingdom of Granada and a few ports on the south-east coast in the hands of the Muslims. Throughout the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century the Christians of the North were engaged in civil wars. The rivalry between Castile and Aragon gave relief to the Muslims of Granada and delayed the completion of the Christian reconquest of Spain.

Muslims in large number left the Christian regions for the south-east. The Jews who continued to live in the Christian conquered territories were blamed for fleecing the poor for the benefit of the powerful. They were, however, protected by the kings and nobles who often fell back upon them for loans. Many Christian nobles even married Jewish girls for their wealth, wit and beauty. The loss incurred from the deserting of the Christian conquered territories by the Muslims was compensated to a certain extent by the fresh arrival of the Jews from Muslim parts of Spain. They were employed as tax collectors and farmers in Murcia, Toledo and la Mancha from 1272 to 1274. In the 14th century Alfonso XI persuaded Pope Clement VI to let the Jews perform their religious rites because 40,000 of them had helped

the Christians in fighting against the Muslims and their stay in the country was essential for its economic development. But they were considered slaves of the church which was ready to relieve them of their riches.[1]

One of the outstanding results of the rule of Almoravids and Almohads was the Africanization of the South of Spain but in due course of time they were absorbed by the civilization they had conquered during the height of their political power. With the political decadence aesthetic greatness started as cultural development was following an opposite course. The fine lyric poetry of the Spanish Muslims gave birth to several literary developments in Spain and other southern countries of Europe. Their artistic interest is expressed in their architecture. In spite of religious restrictions painting and sculpture were practised in Spain in the form of abstract decoration to which the Africans made their own contribution.

1. Hole, *Andalus*, pp. 53, 55

CHAPTER XVI

PHASE III (1231-1492 A. C.)

THE NAṢRID DYNASTY (629-898/1232-1492)

I—*Origin and Rise of the Banū Naṣr* :—The kingdom of Granada was the last bulwark of the Muslims in Spain. It extended over 700 square miles round the Sierra d'Elvira and Serrania de Ronda and along the sea coast from Almeria to Gibraltar. It was successively ruled by twenty-one kings of the Banū Naṣr. They claimed their descent from Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, a chief of the Khazrāj tribe of Madīnah and contemporary of Prophet Muḥammad. They had come to Spain in the early period of Muslim rule and served in the Umayyad army of Spain as officers and generals.

Muḥammad I (1231-1272 A. C.):— At the time when the Muwaḥḥidīn power was declining in Spain, two influential families, the Banū Mardānish in Valencia and the Banū Hūd in Murcia, had taken advantage of the civil strife ro carve out for themselves small principalities in the eastern part of Spain. The Banū Naṣr an 'Arab family from Madīnah also fished in troubled waters. Their leader was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr generally known as Ibn al-Aḥmar, the chief of the Arjona fort in the district of Cordova, 20 miles north of Jaen. In 1231 A. C. he found supporters among the Banū Naṣr and the Banū Ashqabīlah to proclaim himself independent at Arjona. The people of Jaen, Guadix and Baeza rallied in the following year to his standard. Muḥammad allied himself with the Castilians against Banū Hūd and co-operated with Ferdinand I

in the siege of Seville (1248 A. C.) and in the reduction of Carmona and other places. With their help he conquered Granada in 1235 A. C. and got possession of Malaga and Almeria in 1238. The town of Lorca was however not conquered till 1264 A. C.

Extension of Granada :— After the conquest of Granada, Muḥammad ibn al-Aḥmar (1231-72 A. C.) established his seat of government there and assumed the title of al-G͟hālib bi'llāh. Granada gradually extended itself from the two parallel hills, commanding the Darro-Genil plain, Albaicin and al-Ḥamrā' in the north, south wards on both sides of the Darro towards the Genil. The Vega plain of Granada watered by many streams corresponding the G͟hūṭah of Damascus soon attracted the Muslims of Spain. Learned men, scientists, artisans and others as many as 100,000 in number escaped to Granada from the oppression of the Christians and enriched the city.

Towards the end of their rule in Spain the Spanish Muslims took interest in the mural pictorial art although vestiges of such art are not many in number. A trace of this mural art is found on the wall of a portico of Alhamra Palace now known as the Torre de las Damas. Under the influence of the miniature art, the human figures on horseback have been made of small size only eight inches high on an overlapping strip. There are more than a dozen shades including the colour of gold. Domestic scenes of certain celebrations representing male and female and hunting scenes having figures of huntsmen and pack animals have been drawn. Traces of contemporary Persian painting, Syrian style of decoration and Christian miniatures are visible in the painting. Representation of living-beings also found in other parts of Alhamra e. g. the lions in the *Patio de los Leones* and *Patio de la Alberca.* Muḥammad

ibn al-Aḥmar built for himself the famous castle and palace of al-Ḥamrā' (Sp. Alhambra), on a hilly terrace in the south-east of this beautiful town of Granada. This palace was further enlarged and embellished by his successors specially Muḥammad II, Yūsuf I and Muḥammad V.

Al-G͟hālib bi'llāh consolidated his power in the State of Granada which remained the only stronghold of the Muslims to fight a defensive war against the rising power of the Christians in Spain for over two centuries.

Muḥammad a Statesman :— Al-G͟hālib was not only a great general but also a great statesman. He helped the Christians against the petty Muslim rulers but at the same time made full preparation to meet the coming danger and to fight against the Christians. The Muslims breathed the air of peace in a corner of the country under the Naṣrids for some time until they were disturbed again by the rising power of the Christian rulers of the North who were marching towards Granada itself conquering town after town. Jaime I of Aragon occupied Valencia and Ferdinand III the Saintly ruler of Castile conquering many places in the South laid siege to Jaen. Ibn al-Aḥmar realizing his own weakness surrendered. A peace treaty was concluded between the two on payment of an annual tribute and with right to attend the courts of Castile like other Christian Chiefs and to supply troops during war. From that time the political autonomy of the Muslims was lost and, outwardly and psychologically, the Granadans became subservient to the Christians and Castilianized in their customs. Both Naṣrid rulers and their subjects started wearing Christian dress and arming themselves in Christian fashion of which we receive complaints from the contemporary Muslim writers like Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, Ibn K͟haldūn

and Ibn Sa'īd. The sprit of *'aṣabiyah* which had been once a source of strength and unity for 'Arabs and Berbers, was gone for ever, not to come again and gave way to the individual and family feeling.

The generosity of Ferdinand III was shown in concluding a peace covering hidden diplomacy to use Banū Naṣr as a tool against other Muslim states. Accordingly when Seville was besieged by Ferdinand III, Ibn al-Aḥmar was obliged to help him with 500 chosen warriors. Thus the Granadan Muslim soldiers fought against their co-religionists of Seville which capitulated in 1248 and Ibn al-Aḥmar earned a reputation among the Christians for fighting gallantly but he regretted his own achievement because that was the signal for the fall of Granada and he returned heavy-hearted to the capital against which the same Christian arms were to turn later. He was, however, given a benefactor's reception at Granada and called Ghāilb (the victor) by the people whose long-sought peace had been obtained temporarily by the Naṣrid ruler though at the cost of their political freedom. The Naṣrid ruler apprehending danger fortified his dominions and equipped his arsenals.

He had no faith in the Castilian kings, the enemies of the Muslims, and accordingly reorganised his forces, built new castles in the frontiers especially at Gibraltar, repaired old ones and posted forces in strategic positions. He remained on friendly terms with the Marinid kings of Mauretania and joined their names with his own in the khuṭbah (sermon).

War with the Christians :— After completing his defence he helped secretly the people of Medina Sidonio, Murcia, and Arkos against the Christians who had occupied these territories and who wanted to capture Granada also with the result that

the Christians were driven out. An attempt was also made to expel them from Cordova which had been already reconquered in 1236 by the Christians but this plan failed. A severe battle was fought near the fort of Laryal in 1261 A. C. and the Christians were defeated. But the Muslim governors of Malaga and Wādī Āsh (Guadix) allied themselves with the Christians, instigated as they had been by the 'ulamā' who preferred the Christians to the Mauretanians. The Christians, now under Alfonso X, threatened Ghālib who bought peace by paying a tribute of 250,000 dīnārs. But soon after, when Alfonso X instigated the Banū Ashqabīlah, governors of Malaga and Guadix, to rise against him, several thousand Christians under the leadership of Don Nuño de Lara and Don Filipe, the rebel brother of Alfonso, went over to al-Ghālib. The latter collected a large force to crush the power of the rebel governors as well as to punish their allies but died at the age of seventy-nine on the 24th Sept. 1272 A. C., leaving the task to his successor.

Character :—Muḥammad al-Ghālib, the founder of the Naṣrid dynasty, was one of the successful kings of Spain and was a great statesman. A well educated and disciplined Ibn al-Aḥmar while still a youth was appointed governor of Arjona and Jaen. Due to his benign policy he became popular among the people. On the fall of Banū Hūd when the *taifas* were further disintegrated, Ibn al-Aḥmar was not slow in reaping the fruits in the chaotic period and accepting the throne offered almost unanimously by the people. He was raised to the throne of the Zirids at Granada. Due to his skill he saved the prestige of the Muslims a a very critical moment and his reign proved to be prosperous. He appointed able and loyal chieftains to govern the various cities, organized a police force and admistered justice. He was a just ruler and all people, irrespective

of class and creed, had easy access to him twice a week. He took keen interest in public works, constructing roads and bridges for travellers and merchants, hospitals for the sick and asylums for the destitutes, blind and aged. Public baths and fountains were established. Making the best use of hydraulic technique, the Acequia Real was constructed to carry water for more than a league from the Darro to the palace, its gardens, fountains and baths. This Acequia Real is still extant and reminds us the hydraulic technology of the Granadan engineers living during the time of Ibn al-Aḥmar. He was a great patron of arts and letters. Educational institutions were established for imparting education in all fields of learning and a library was set up whither many books of the famous Umayyad library of Cordova were preserved. Supply centres were opened to sell meat, bread and other essential commodities at fair prices. He doveloped his dominion agriculturally, industrially and architecturally. The breeding of horses and other animals was fostered, the silk industry was developed and mineral output of gold and silver were increased. The population of Granada increased tremendously and about 150,000 people inhabited the city on the hills and plains.

Muḥammad II (1272-1302 A. C.) :—Al- Gh̲ālib was succeeded by his son 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad II. Himself a scholar, Muḥammad II was a great patron of learning. He knew many languages and after discharging his royal duties used to hold discussions with philosphers and jurists. As a jurist he bore the title of al-Faqīh. He confirmed in service the royal officers of his father and compelled the rebel governors to surrender at Antequera. A treaty was concluded between Alfonso X and Muḥammad II on condition that Alfonso would reinstate his rebel brother Don Filipe to his fief.

The Christian king, Alfonso X, had left the kingdom of Granada to exhaust itself in internal strife but Muḥammad II fathomed his policy well, and invited the Marinid king of Morocco, Abū Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaq, to invade Christian Spain with 50,000 men. In 1274 A. C. a severe battle was fought with the Christians under the leadership of Nuño Gonzalez de Lara who invaded Granada. About 8,000 Christians with their general were killed in the battle. Another Christian force under the leadership of Sancho, son of James I of Aragon, was defeated near Jaen and Sancho was killed along with many others. Muḥammad II in recognition of these services gave al-Jazīrah (Algeciras) and Ṭarīfah to the king of Morocco. On the departure of the African forces, the Christians besieged al-Jazīrah and attacked Granada and destroyed the gardens of the Vega but were defeated and repulsed. This was followed by several indecisive engagements between the Christians and the Muslims. The Naṣrid ruler purchased al-Jazīrah from the king of Morocco for 100,000 mithqāl ($468\frac{3}{4}$ seers) of gold to strengthen his kingdom. Muḥammad II died at his prayers in April 1302, after a reign of over thirty years.

Muḥammad III (1302-1309 A. C.):—Muḥammad II was succeeded by his son Muḥammad III who was later known as al-Makhlū (the deposed). Though his time was largely spent in fighting against rebels and enemies yet he did not fail to add to the culture and material progress of the country. Among the buildings which he constructed was the beautiful Jāmi' Masjid which was turned later by the Christians into a church after the fall of Granada.

In 1305 A. C. Sulaymān, the governor of Almeria, at the instigation of the Aragonese, tried to declare himself independent

but was captured and imprisoned. The rising of the governor of Guadix was also successfully put down. The Christians captured Gibraltar and besieged al-Jazīrah. They raised the siege when Quesada, Bedmar and Quad Ros the frontier towns were ceded. In 1309 A. C. a revolt of Muḥammad's uncle Abū'l Juyūsh Naṣr b. Muḥammad led to his abdication. He was imprisoned in the fort of Almuñecar for five years.

Al-Naṣr (1309-1314 A. C.) :—Al-Naṣr b. Muḥammad took keen interest in the cause of learning and scientific research. Books on philosophy and science were written and published by copying manuscripts. A clock was invented and public buildings were constructed. But al-Naṣr was an unlucky king and his reign was hardly more peaceful than that of his predecessor. Soon after his assumption of the office, Algeciras was besieged by the Castilian king, Ferdinand IV, and he had to buy him off by agreeing to pay an annual tribute. His nephew Abū'l Walīd tried to capture the throne but faild and fled to his father, the governor of Malaga. Once, when al-Naṣr fell ill, Muḥammad III attempted in vain to occupy the throne and was put into prison.

About this time Ferdinand IV died and was succeeded by his son Alfonso XI, a child of barely thirteen months. The kingdom of Castile fell into disorder. Courtiers and governors began to fight among themselves.

This was the time for the Muslims to reconquer other parts of Spain if not Castile itself but rivalry in the court of Granada was still very acute. In 1314 A. C. al-Naṣr was forced to abdicate the throne in favour of his nephew Abū'l Walīd, better known as Ismā'īl, and to accept the governorship of Guadix where he died in 1322 A. C.

Ismā'īl I (1314-25 A. C.) :—Abū'l Walīd Ismā'īl b. Faraj was the grandson of Ismā'īl a brother of the founder of this

dynasty. In 1319 A. C. Ismā'īl I besieged the strong fort of Baeza. With the help of the Shaykh al-Ghuzat Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān he inflicted defeats on the Castilians at Ali Cum and in the Sierra d' Elvira. In the last battle, Don Juan and Don Pedro, the guardians of King Alfonso XI, were killed. Huescar, Galera and Baeza fell. In the following year Martosa, 16 miles south-west of Jaen, was captured and the citizens who did not submit readily were put to the sword. He regained for a time old Naṣrid lands of Ṭarīfah and Ronda which had passed to the Marinids. After this victory, Ismā'īl returned to Granada amidst the great rejoicing, of the citizens of Granada but within three days in 1325 A. C. he was killed in his palace by his cousin Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl the lord of Algeciras, whom he had once ill-treated.

Ismā'īl reorganised the police and revenue departments and kept his frontiers well-guarded. The people were happy under his benign rule.

Muḥammad IV (*1325-33 A. C.*) :—Ismā'īl I left behind four sons of whom the eldest Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IV, aged 12, was raised to the throne of Granada in July 1325. His guardian was the shrewd but selfish prime minister, al-Maḥrūq, who removed the wise courtiers and the brothers of Muḥammad IV from the capital. When the king came to age, he proved himself a vigorous and successful ruler. He imprisoned al-Maḥrūq, took the reins of administration into his own hands and appointed Ibn Yaḥyā as his prime minister. 'Uthmān, the chief of the royal guards, fled to Andrax and invited the Castilians and Sulṭān Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī, the Banū Marīn ruler of Ifrīqīyah, to attack Granada. The Africans captured Algeciras in whose defence Ibn Yaḥyā lost his life. They also occupied Ronda and Marbella (Montemayor) and proceeded towards Granada. The king, with a small number of loyal and experienced soldiers, not

only repulsed their attack but wrested one after another from the Africans all the places they had occupied and defeated the Christians at Casares. Thus, within a few months, he re-established his authority and acquired fame and renown in his youth. Gibraltar which had been occupied and fortified by the Castilians was wrested from their hands in 1333 A. C. Whilst returning from an inspection of the fort after concluding peace with the Christians. Muḥammad IV was attacked and killed by a band of Christian assassins.

Yūsuf I (*1333*-54 *A. C.*) :—The minister Riḍwān raised Abū'l Ḥajjāj Yūsuf I, the brother of the deceased Amīr, to the throne of Granada. He was one of the most enlightened sovereigns of his dynasty. In 1339 A. C. Abū'l Ḥasan, the famous king of Fez (Morocco), sent 'Abd al-Malik to capture the whole Spain. He succeeded in conquering Algeciras and Gibraltar but was defeated at Pagana by the Christians. 'Abd al-Malik was killed along with ten thousand soldiers. The following year Abū'l Ḥasan attacked the Christians with a large force and destroyed the Castilian power in the western Mediterranean. Joined by Amīr Yūsuf I of Granada, he besieged the strong fort of Ṭarīfah which could be easily defended by a small garrison. The well-armed and well-knit forces of Aragon, Portugal, and Castile went to the rescue of Ṭarīfah. The battle was fought near the mouth of the Salado on the 30th October 1340. The hastily raised Muslim force was defeated and many of the soldiers were killed. Yūsuf I and Abū'l Ḥasan escaped their capitals by sea. Alfonso XI died of plague during the war. The Christians killed the Muslim prinsoners not sparing even women and children. After the battle of the Salado the Africans never again tried to invade Spain and the kings of Granada henceforward always adopted a defensive policy.

After the capture of Ṭarīfah and al-Jazīrah, the Castilians concluded peace for ten years with the Naṣrids. As the Christians were engaged in civil war during that period, Yūsuf I was free to pass the rest of his life in public works. He was a zealous patron of art and architecture, literature and science. Al-Ḥamrā' was enlarged and beautified and the Bāb al-Shāri' (the Great Gateway) of al-Ḥamrā' was built. Many of the towers and rooms constructed in al-Ḥamrā' during his time still survive such as Baño Regio, Puerta de la Justicia, the Casa Real. Rooms were decorated and his name was inscribed on their walls. Alcazar which is completely in ruin now was built by him. At Malaga water was brought to the city of Granada from the Sierra Nevada through lead pipes and kept in beautiful reservoirs made of marble. In every locality of twelve Muslim houses, a mosque was constructed with its orphanage and almshouse. Schools and mosques were constructed in every village. The famous madrasah of Granada was built in 1349 A. D. Natural science and physics were developed greatly. The great physician Ibn Bayṭār was a prominent botanist of the time. Yūsuf had good memory and was well-versed in poetry. Night patrols were instituted and municipalities were organised. The police organisation was improved. In each quarter there was posted an officer to look after the welfare of the people and to maintain law and order. The king was courageous but averse to unnecessary blood shed in war even if it was forced on him. He was physically strong and intellectually noble. He was so magnanimous that even when Alfonso XI besieged Gibraltar and died suffering from plague, the Naṣrid ruler instead of rejoicing mourned over his death and allowed his funeral procession to pass from Gibraltar to Seville. Under his just and benign liberal administration

people were happy and prosperous. Unluckily for the Spanish Muslims, Yūsuf did not live long to serve the people and the country. While praying in the mosque, he was stabbed to death by a madman on October 19, 1354.

Muḥammad V (1354-59 A. C.) :—Yūsuf was succeeded by his cultured and scholarly son Muḥammad V who assumed the title of al-Ghanī bi'llāh. He drove the bad elements out of the State. But in 1359 A. C. they conspired with his step-mother to raise her son Ismā'īl to the throne by assassinating Muḥammad V. The latter, however, escaped to Guadix and from there to Fez in 1359 A. C.

Ismā'īl II and Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad VI (1359-62 *A. C.*) :—Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf did not prove himself to be a good ruler. Abū Sa'īd, his brother-in-law and chief adviser, oppressed the people. In 1360 A. C. Ismā'īl II, who did not possess any personality or prestige, was killed in a revolt headed by Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad VI b. Ismā'īl, who seized the throne. His troops suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Christians at Guadix. People, being disgusted with the rule of Abū Sa'īd, began to desert him. Al-Ghanī bi'llāh tried to recapture his kingdom with the help of the African soldiers but they were recalled by the successor of Abū Salīm of Fez. The citizens, howwever, invited the dethroned king to resume the command and compelled Abū Sa'īd to take refuge with the king of Castile. But he was killed for his riches in 1362 A. C.

The Second Reign of Muḥammad V (1362-91 A. C.) :—Muḥammad V al-Ghanī bi'llāh reoccupied the throne amidst the rejoicings of the people and spent thirty years of the second period of his reign in peace, interrupted occasionally by family quarrels and civil strifes. He maintained peace with Pedro the Cruel of Castile and helped him in the battle of Najera and

Montiel. He captured Algeciras but could not keep it long under his control. Muḥammad was a good administrator and encouraged learning in his kingdom. He had as his wazīr, the famous historian Ibn al-Khaṭib surnamed Lisān al-Dīn.[1] During his time commerce and industry flourished and agricultural production increased due to the development of a new irrigation system. He died in 1391 A. C.

II—Decline and Fall of the Dynasty :—Muḥammad V, with whom ended the grandeur of Granada was succeeded by his son Abū'l Ḥajjāj Yūsuf II. He renewed the peace with the ruler of Castile. Don Martin Yanez de Parbudo, the Grand Master of Alcantara, much against the wish of the ruler of Castile, made an unsuccessful attack on Granada with 1,800 men. In 1392 A. C. Yūsuf II met with a sudden death caused by a poisoned wrapper received as gift from the king of Fez.

Muḥammad VII (1392-1408 A. C.) :—He was succeeded by his second son Muḥammad VII who immprisoned his elder brother Yūsuf in the fortress of Salobrena. Henry III had called a council of war to devise ways and means of destroying the power of Granada but he died before his plan matured. In 1406 A. C. the Castilians raided the territories of Granada and in year after conquered the fortress of Zahrā' (at present in the province of Cadiz).

The Muslims attacked Bedar and with twenty thousand men besieged Alkadet, which was well defended by the Christians. In the

1. It was during the second period of the rule of Muḥammad V that Ibn al-Khaṭīb escaped to Morocco where he was assassinated, and there stops the history of the Naṣrid dynasty by Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khaldūn. The materials for the history of the later rulers are found in the few pages of al-Maqqari's Nafḥ al-Ṭib and the short anonymous chronicle published by Muller in 1863 A. C.

battle the losses sustained by both the sides were equal. In the meantime Muḥammad VII seriously fell ill and his personal physician informed him of his imminent death. Therefore, with the intention of ensuring his son's succession to the throne, he sent an order to have his elder brother Yūsuf killed, but before the order could be carried out Muḥammad VII had died in 1408 A. C. and people placed his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf III on the throne.

Yūsuf III (1408-17 A. C.) :— Yūsuf III concluded a treaty with the Castilians for a period of two years. After the expiry of the period of treaty in 1410 A. C. when he wanted to renew it, the Castilians refused to do so. Ferdinand, the uncle and guardian of the young Castilian king, wrested Antequera from Muslim hands. A treaty was then concluded according to which all the Christian prisoners were ro be released.

The Muslims of Gibraltar, being disgusted with the oppression of their governor, invited the Africans to invade Gibraltar. Sulṭān Fayḍ of Fez sent his brother Abū Sa'īd to conquer Gibraltar. But Aḥmad, son of Amīr Yūsuf III, came with reinforcements, defeated the Africans and took Abū Sa'īd a prisoner. Hoping to get rid of his brother, Sulṭān Fayḍ asked Amīr Yūsuf III to deal with him as he liked but the king of Granada set Abū Sa'īd free and sent him with an army to teach his brother a lesson. The latter was defeated and the throne was occupied by Abū Sa'īd. Thus was established peace between Granada and Fez.

Yūsuf III, passed the rest of his life in peace and engaged himself in improving the administration. He was famous for his justice, benevolence and other virtues. Many Christians came to Granada to have disputes settled by Yūsuf. As an arbitrator of tournaments he encouraged military sports. Peace was established in the frontier provinces and the Christian prisoners were set

free even during the times of war, quite contrary to what the Christians practised. Peace brought wealth to the country and people indulged in merrymaking and lived a life of ease and luxury. The result was that they could not stand against the rising power of the Christians for long. Yūsuf died in 1417 A. C. amidst universal mourning,

Muḥammad VIII (1417-27 A. C.):— Muḥammad VIII surnamed al-Aythar (the left-handed) succeeded his father Yūsuf III. He became unpopular because of his pride of power and neglect of duty. Eunuchs and slaves were given preference over the courtiers and tournaments and public fetes were stopped. The *Aben Cerages* (the Banū al-Sarrāj) and the *Zegris* (Thaghrī, man of the frontier) rose in revolt and drove him out to Tunis.

Muḥammad IX (1427-29 A. C.) *and Muḥammad VIII's Second Reign* (1429-32 A. C.) :— Muḥammad IX was next raised to the throne. He drove out the famous family Banū Sarrāj, some members of which joined the Castilian king and the Amīr of Tunis to depose and kill Muḥammad IX and restore Muḥammad VIII to the throne. But when this unfortunate king refused to accept the suzerainty of John II of Castile, he was attacked by the Castilians and a disastrous battle was fought at Higueruela near Granada in July 1431 A. C. in which the Muslims were routed and Muḥammad VIII al-Aythar fled to Malaga.

Yūsuf IV and Muḥammad VIII's Third Reign (1432-45 A.C.) :— Yūsuf IV b. al-Aḥmar, a grandson of Muḥammad VI, usurped the throne in July 1431 A. C. with the help of John. II. The new king, however, died within a few months and Muḥammad VIII recovered the throne for the third time, but the frontiers of his kingdom were shrinking. Civil strife characterised the entire period of his reign. The towns of Jimena, Huesca (Granada) and Huelma (Jaen) fell one after another into the hands of the Christians. In 1445 A.C.

he was imprisoned by his nephew Muḥammad X b. U<u>th</u>mān, who occupied the Palace of al-Ḥamrā'.

Muḥammad X *and Sa'd b. 'Alī* (1445-65 A.C.) :—Muḥammad X could not rule peacefully and was deposed by Sa'd the son of his father's cousin in 1454 A. C. The effects of the civil war were devastating, the treasury was empty, the country deserted and the frontier fortresses left unguarded fell into the hands of the Christians. Sa'd tried to make peace but Henry (Enrique) IV, the king of Castile, refused and invaded Granada. The Muslims, unable to face, left their enemies unchecked to devastate the whole country. In 1462 A. C. important forts like Archidona and Gibraltar fell into the hands of Rodrigo Ponce de Leon and the Duke of Medina Sidonia. The unfortunate Sa'd sued for peace by agreeing to pay twelve thousand dīnārs as the annual tribute and to accept Henry as his suzerain. Peace lasted until he died in 1465 A. C.

Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī (*1465-82 A. C.*) :—Sa'd was succeeded by his son 'Alī surnamed Abū'l Ḥasan (Spanish Alboacen). He was brave and chivalrous but not a statesman. His blunt refusal to pay the annual tribute agreed upon by his father led the Christians to destroy the kingdom of Granada.

With the accession of Ferdinand (the Catholic) of Aragon and Isabella (the Catholic) of Castile, the Christian offensive became very furious. By marrying Isabella in 1469 A. C. Ferdinand made his position stronger. Both were the enemies of the Muslims and sought every opportunity to attack them. In 1482 A. C. the Christians captured the strong fort of al-Ḥamah which stood at the foot of the Sierra de al-Ḥamah to the south-west of Granada. After street fighting when the Muslims including women and children took refuge in the city mosque, they were burnt to death by the Christians. Abū'l Ḥasan twice attempted to recapture al-Ḥamah fort but he failed.

Muḥammad XI (1482-83 A. C.) :—Selfishness overpowered the dynastic interest and while the Castilians were gradually capturing forts and towns and whittling away the Naṣrid possessions, civil war broke out in Granada. Muḥammad Abū 'Abd Allāh (Sp. Boabdil) instigated by his 'Arab mother 'Ā'i'shah rebelled against his father Abū'l Ḥasan who favoured his sons by a Spanish concubine named Isabel de Solis (Zahrā'), daughter of the Castilian Alcayde of Bedmar. With the help of the garrison he seized al-Ḥamrā' in 1482 A. C. and virtually became master of Granada and compelled his father to take refuge at Malaga, which was under the governorship of the refugee's brother, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad surnamed al-Zaghal. In March 1483 A. C. the Castilian attack on Malaga was repulsed with heavy loss by al-Zaghal and his lieutenant Riḍwān. The same year Abū 'Abd Allāh attacked the Christian town of Lucena but was defeated and taken captive. Abū'l Ḥasan thus reoccupied the vacant throne of Granada but abdicated it in favour of his able brother, Muḥammad al-Zaghal. He then retired with his family and treasures to Illora (Illiris) and thence to Almuñecar where he died.

Muḥammad XII (1413-87 A.C.) :—Ferdinand used Abū 'Abd Allāh (Boabdil) as a tool for the destruction of Granada and sent him with a large force against his own uncle al-Zaghal while he himself built a stone-walled camp which later grew into the town of Santa Fe (Holy Faith) south of Granada in order to direct the siege of the last resort of the Muslims as 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had constructed al-Fataḥ near Toledo and Ḥājib al-Manṣūr, a fortified city near Tlemcen. The siege dragged on for ten years. Abū 'Abd Allāh did not understand the policy of the Christians and played in the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. He captured Albaecin, the old part of Granada,

in 1486. Al-Zaghal wanted to present a united opposition to the Castilians but his nephew Abū 'Abd Allāh did not agree and aided the Castilians and the Aragonese in the destruction of the kingdom. Abū 'Abd Allāh fought against his uncle and destroyed his right hand, the patriotic African Banī Sarrāj who had settled in Granada. The Castilians took advantage of this civil war and captured in succession Alora, Qaṣr Bonila, Ronda and other towns. Loja was reduced in 1486 and Almeria and Malaga the following year. These towns and cities were surrendered on condition that the inhabitants would not be molested. Isabella and Ferdinand did not keep their words and the Muslims were either sold into slavery or turned out of their towns and cities. Ali-Zaghal gave unsuccessful resistance against the Castilians. Ferdinand fell upon Baeza with all his resources. In despair al-Zaghal asked for help from his African brethren to save his capital but in vain for they were themselves then engaged in civil war. The city was starved into capitulation. Al-Zaghal was forced to submit in 1487. He retired into Tilimsān (Tlemcen) in Morocco where he passed his days in misery.

Muḥammad XII's Second Reign (1487-92 A. C.) :— Now came the turn of Muḥammad Abū 'Abd Allāh. He was asked by his ally Ferdinand in 1490 to surrender Granada. When he refused, the fertile lands of Granada were devastated and the city was stormed by forty thousand foot and ten thousand cavalry in the spring of 1491. Under the great general Mūsā bin Abū'l Ghāzān[1] the Muslim cavalrymen killed a large number of the besiegers in single combat. Ferdinand pressed the siege further and starved the people to surrender. Seeing the destruction of the Vega and having no hope of reinforcements from the Muslim countries Boabdil submitted on the 2nd Rābī' I, 897/2nd January 1492.

1. *Cf.* Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, p. 555.

Terms of Capitulation :— The Muslims agreed to surrender their last stronghold in Spain, if not relieved within two months either by sea or land, on fifty-five terms the following being the basic ones :—

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh Boabdil, his officers and citizens would take the oath of loyalty to Ferdinand and Isabella ;

2. Abū 'Abd Allāh would receive a fief in al-Bushara (Alpujarra) ;

3. The Muslims would he guaranteed security of life and property and would be allowed religious freedom ;

4. They would retain their manners, usages, customs, language and dress ;

5. The cases between the Muslims and Christians would be heard by mixed tribunals ;

6. The Muslims would pay only those taxes which they paid to the Muslim kings in the past ;

7. All the Muslim captives would be liberated ;

8. They would be free to leave Spain with their portable property including gold and arm within a fixed time with a right to return if they so decide within three years but after that they would have to surrender one-tenth of it ;

9. The neo-Muslims would not be reconverted to their former faith and the Muslims eager to accept Christianity would be given time to think over again and declare their final decision before a Muslim and a Christian judge ;

10. Muslim merchants would be free to move and trade within and outside the country on paying the custom dues, the Christians were paying ; and

11. Responsible governors and judges would be appointed to honour the terms of the treaty in letters as well as in spirit.

Mūsā the Muslim general raised his voice against the capitulation and cited the fate of the Jews as an example. He had no faith in the words of Ferdinand and his Queen. Having little support from other Muslims, he rushed out of the Elvira gate of the city never to return. After the expiry of two months when the Sulṭāns of Egypt, Turkey and other Muslim countries did not send forces for the relief of the Muslims in Granada, the Castilians took possession of the city. Abū 'Abd Allāh retired to Andarax, whence he was banished to Fez. He lived there in poverty and misery till he died in 1538 A.C. Count of Tendilla was appointed governor of al-Ḥamrā' and Captain General of the kingdom of Granada. Spain was thus reconquered by astute diplomacy and by force of arms.

Louis Bertrand says, "On the Spanish side the dominant idea was to persuade the Granadines that, in capitulating, they were merely passing under the protection of masters gentler than their Musulman princes." The author further adds, "We (Ferdinand and Isabella) assure, promise and swear by our faith and royal word that we will observe and make observed, everything herein contained; everything and every part, now and hereafter, now and forever."[1] Temporarily the Christian rulers preferred protectorates to abosolute conquest as it needed assimilation of the conquered or their total extermination. Co-existence and intermarriage for eight centuries had Castilianized many Muslims and Arabicized many Christians still complete assimilation of the Muslims in the religious sphere was difficult. Further the Christian masters wanted to have their lands cultivated by the Moors who were experts in these lines so their elimination was a great problem for the Castilian rulers themselves.

1. *The History of Spain*, part I, London, 1956, pp. 150, 152.

The spirit of the Reconquest in its early period has been very well expressed in the *Poem of the Cid* (1140) from which a few verses are quoted below :

Hear me, Albar Fáñez and all knights !
We have imprisoned great wealth in this castle ;
The Moors lie dead ; few live ones do I see.
Moorish men and Moorish maids we can not sell,
Nor by chopping off their heads will we gain anything ;
Let us keep them inside, for we have the seigniory ;
We shall dwell in their houses, and we shall make use of them (616-622).[1]

These lines lead one to the conclusion that the spirit behind the Reconquest was to overcome the rustic poverty, to rule over the Muslims and to utilize their services but after accomplishing the fact the spiritual unity of the people was preferred to material prosperity of the country and forceful conversion of the Muslims to honouring the terms of capitulation.

1. Quoted by Castro, p. 83.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MORISCOS (1492-1613 A. C.)

Catholicism in Spain did not tolerate other religions—the Jews were persecuted in the 7th and 15th centuries and the Muslims in the 15th and 16th centuries. Before the fall of the Muslim dynasties in the South, the Muslims of Castile, Leon and Aragon, who lived under the Christian rulers, were called *Mudejares* (Ar. *Mudajjanīn*). From the 16th century onwards these *Mudejares* were known as Moriscos, the term that was first used for the Muslims of Granada after its fall in 1492 A. C. The Moriscos spoke the Arabic and Romance languages. They wrote the Romance language in Arabic script which became known as *aljamiado* from Arabic *al-'ajamiyah*, meaning a foreign language. The Mudejar had to pay a tax called *cenas reales* in the 14th and 15th centuries for their *morerias* (mosques).[1] In 1312 A. C. they were forbidden by Jaime II to offer *ṣalāt* (prayer) in public.[2] Charles Lea says that the Muslims were forced later "to live like Christians and pay like Moors."[3]

The Moriscos were known for their hard work and skill. Hurtado de Mendaza, in appreciation of their skill in agriculture, writes that every piece of Alpujarra which was naturally sterile and hard was used for cultivation because of their diligence. They were not in the habit of begging but were always busy

1. Company, *Memorias sobre la Marina comercio de Barcelona*, III, pp. 124-5.
2. M. Danvila y Collado, La *expulsion de los Moriscos expañoles*, Madrid, 1889, p. 30.
3. *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, p. 377.

with some employment and excelled in manual work hated by the Christians. They were diligent cultivators and skilful in the manual trades such as tinkers, soap-makers, rope-makers, sandal-makers, shoe-makers, mattress-makers, weavers, tailors, potters, gardeners, olive-oil-peddlers, muleteers and smiths. They sold food at the best stands of the cities. There were others occupied in trade. They paid their taxes willingly and they were moderate in their food and clothing.[1] The Moriscos, after their hard labours, passed their leisure hours in recreation. They were fond of tales, burlesques, dances and songs and played on bagpipes, tamorines and timbrels.[2] In 1638 the historian Bermudez de la Pedraza in appreciation of the virtues and diligence of the Moriscos wrote, "they showed much truth in their dealings and contracts and great charity toward their poor ; they were little given to idleness ; all worked hard."[3] Their virtues as diligent workers and the wealth borne by these virtues were sacrificed at the altar of religious unity of the entire country and community as preferred by the Spanish monarchy.

The Moriscos of Granada :—After the capitulation of Granada in January 1492, for about seven years peaceful relations continued between the Catholic rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella, and their Muslim subjects. But the king of Castile, Ferdinand, went back upon his promise and tried to convert forcibly his Muslim subjects to Chrstianity against the terms of the capitulation. Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros was placed in charge of the missionary work for the conversion of the Muslims of Granada

1. Janer, Florencio, *Condicion social de los moriscos*, 1857, pp. 159, 162.
2. Janer, 159.
3. *Historia de Plasencia* by Friar Alonso Fernandez, quoted by Castro. 90 ; Longás, *Vida religiosa de los moriscos*, Madrid, 1915, p. LII.

in 1498. Hernando de Talavera the first Archbishop of Granada, impressed by certain virtues of the Moriscos suggested for the mutual exchange to be made between the 'lazy Christians' and the 'faithless Moriscos', the former to do some of the good works of the Moriscos and the latter to have some of the Christian faith.[1] In order to strengthen the Christian community and to affect the gradual assimilation of the Moriscos, Hernando, with his diplomacy, wanted to bring about a compromise between the two and patch up the gap between life and reason and 'work without faith' and 'faith without work.' He, therefore, tried to convert the Musulmans into Christianity by persuasion, while Cisneros tried to do so by bribery and, failing in that, by force.[2]

Instead of forced conversion it would have been wiser to treat the Muslims on a footing of equality with the other subjects and leave their assimilation with the Christians to the course of time. The Moriscos did not find any culture or social gain in accepting Christianity. Even after conversion they had no status in the Christian society, they were hated and despised, treated as pariahs and called *perros moros* (Moorish dogs).[3] Cisneros went to the extent of burning in 1409 A. C. some Arabic books in the Palaza de Bibarambla (Granada) and took away many of their scientific works to the Cologio de San Ildefonso at Alcala.[4]

1. *Castro*, p. 93
2. *Cf.* P. Boronat Barrachina, *Los Moriscos Españoles y su expulsion, I*, p. 168; *Cf.* Juan Regla, *La Expulsion de los Moriscos y sus consecuencias* in *Hispana*, XIII, Madrid, 1853, p. 224.
3. *Cf.* Marmol, *Rebilion de los Moriscos*, I, folls. 28a-30b.
4. Palencia, *Historia*, p. 118.

The forced conversions antagonised the Moriscos of Albaicin (old Granada)[1] and led them to revolt. Two years later a law was passed that they either accept Christianity or pay 50,000 ducats of gold.[2] Although the law was against the terms of capitulation, it was passed on the pretext that the Moriscos were not loyal. The Moriscos failed to pay required money and were forcibly collected in a place and the holy water of Christianity was sprinkled on them. Even after this forced conversion, if they refused to abide by the church regulations, charges of heresy were brought against them and they were put to death. From 1501 A. C. onwards the Muslims of Granada and Castile were considered to be theoretically as Christians. Some became crypto-Muslims professing Christianity but secretly practising Islam. There were still many who cheng to their own faith and took refuge in the mountains of Alpujarras. There men, women and children were hunted and many were put to death. Ameer 'Alī says, "Not content with massacring the men, the Castilians blew up by gunpowder a mosque where the women and children of wide district had taken refuge."[3] Those who escaped death were given options to pay ten doublas of gold per head or

1. Louis Bertrand (*The History of Spain, p.* 153) says, "Some years after the capitulation, when the Catholic Sovereigns compelled the Moors to become converts or cross over to Barbary, those of the Albaycin dispatched emissaries to the Sultan of Egypt to demand his intervention. He threatened the Spanish Sovereign with reprisals against the Christians of Asia." The learned writer refers to the Sultan of Egypt most probably he meant Muḥammad 'Alī the founder of Modern Egypt. He was the greatest ruler of his time in the Middle East and conquered partly Syria and Arabia but he was not the ruler of Asia ; so his reprisals against the Christians of Asia was out of the question.
2. Manual Danvila, pp. 71-72.
3. *History of the Saracens,* pp. 560-61

accept Christianity. Many could not pay the fine and accepted Christianity. They were called *Taqiya* (reserved),[1] because on their own accord they did not give up Islam. Danvila rightly doubts about the faith in Christianity of such converted Christians.[2]

The Moriscos of Valencia and Aragon :— The Moriscos of Valencia and Aragon were, however, allowed to practise their religion theoretically and legally.[3] When Charles I, as prince, visited Valencia and Aragon, he respected the religious belief of the Musulmans. In 1508 Ferdinand the Catholic forbade the forced conversion of the Moors in Catalonia. He passed this order when the Duke of Cardona and other landlords protested against the violent acts of the Inquisition. They did this in their own interest as their lands were tilled by the Moriscos.[4] Several times as in 1510 and 1518 A. C. pledges were made that no conversions would be made by force but in practice little respect was shown to those pledges. When two serious revolts of the Christians of the *Germania* in Valencia and of the *Comuneros* in Castile took place, the Emperor was out of Spain. The poor Christians had revolted against their feudal lords because of economic hardship caused by the rise in price of goods owing to the import of gold from America in large quantity. These rebels were against the Morisco cultivators, because the latter did not take part in the revolt with them and were clung to their Christian landlords. They made forcible conversions of the Moriscos and killed many. The Christian landlords supported, on economic grounds,

1. Palencia, *Historia*, p. 118.
2. Danvila, pp. 72-73 ; Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, p. 561.
3. Danvila, p. 76.
4. Charles Lea, Henry, 407

their Muslim tenants, who were loyal to their landlords with the hope of being allowed to retain their faith and religion as had been assured by their landlords who stated that their forced conversion was not valid.[1]

The reasons for the slow progress in the reconquest of Spain and the expulsion of the Muslims are produced by Louis Bertrand in the following words, "they (the Christian rulers) were solely concerned with avoiding the depopulation of the reconquered territories. They did not want to ruin either the commerce or the agriculture of their new domains.

Besides, it was a long-standing custom among the Christian princes to prefer protectorates, with payment of tribute, to complete conquest and expulsion or extermination. For centuries they had lived on tributes paid by the Moors. In the same way as the Muslims for centuries had consumed the Christians, so, since they had become the stronger, they had started consuming their enemies."[2]

For their labour and experience in cultivation, the Muslims had become famous in the country and the proverb ran that one who had a Musulman (servant) has gold (*Quien tiene moro tiene oro*). With great difficulty the rebels were forced to submit. Later on, fighting broke out in Aragon between the settled Morisco cultivators, who were the poorest in Spain,[3] and the Christian herdsmen. The latter under their leader Lupeacio Latres chose to attack the lands of the Church cultivated by undefended Moriscos and not those of the feudal lords. The feudal lords helped the Morisco cultivators with men and arms in driving the Christian herdsmen out. The Church did

1. Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, II, pp. 347, 375.
2. *Cf. The History of Spain*, part I, London, 1956, pp. 147-8.
3. *Hispana*, XIII, p. 258.

not help them because it had no force but when Church property was destroyed, the clergy made protests and the government, which was so long for the herdsmen, did interfere in the end and exiled the leader of the herdsmen, Lupeacio, to England. The Muslim cultivators of Valencia and Aragon were thus saved from economic ruin.

Now the question arose about their forced baptism. This became a topic of great controversy and the churchmen took the opportunity to convert the Muslims. The government passed a decree that the Muslims who had been baptised by the revolutionaries should be considered as Christians and should be duly punished if they did not observe the religious rites of Christianity. An attempt was also made to convert the remaining Moriscos. In April 1525 Charles V also went against his former promise to respect the Muslim faith and religion and passed a decree against the retention of the dress, customs, language and religion of the Moriscos of Valencia and Aragon.[1] The feudal lords for their own economic interest still patronised the Moriscos and tried to influence the Emperor to revoke the law passed recently. In May 1528, twelve *alfaquies* of the *Aljamas* of Valencia requested the Emperor to suspend his order. He did not cancel his order, but for forty years he made the Moriscos exempt from the practical observation of the Christian laws, customs and language. Theoretically they were Christians ; but were not subject to the Inquisition and the punishment for heresy.[2] In 1526 A. C. laws were passed for the abolition of the Arabic language, dress and custom. But Charles V was bribed with 80.000 ducats and

1. Danvila, pp. 91-92 ; Cf. Palencia, *Historia*, pp. 119-120.
2. Cf. Danvila, pp. 101-102 ; cf. Pedro Longas, *Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1915, *XXX*.

the laws were not enforced during his time. For the use of the Arabic language and the 'Arab dress they paid to the state a tax called *farda*, which amounted to 20,000 ducats in 1563 A. C.[1]

There was no end of persecution. On the plea of not consuming pork and wine the Moriscos were tortured and put into prison. Charles Lea says, "Abstinence from pork and wine was amply sufficient to justify persecution, and we hear of cases, in which staining the nails with *hena,* refusal to eat meat of animals dying of natural death, killing of poultry by decollation, the zambras and leilas, songs and dances used at merrymakings and nuptials, and even cleanliness, were gravely adduced as evidences of apostasy."[2]

The Moriscos being the main tillers of soil in Aragon, the Aragonese landlords were irritated when their Muslim vassals were punished by the Inquisition at Saragossa in 1553. In 1569, Don Sancho of Cardona, the Admiral of Aragon, for rebuilding a mosque of the Moriscos in Valencia was tried by the Holy office of the Inquisition.[3] There was a clash between life and reason and 'works without faith' and 'faith without works.[4] The Aragonese landlords were ultimately overcome, the Moriscos were expelled from their area and the Aragonese fields fell into a wretched state as a result of Spanish intolerance the symbol of 'faith without work.'

The Moriscos in the later part of the 16th century :—In 1566 A. C. a meeting of the Junta was called at Madrid by Felipe II. It was decided to enforce all the laws passed in 1525 and 1526 A. C. regarding the dress, customs, language and religion of the

1. *A History of the Inquisition,* III, 329 & n1. This was usually an annual tax.
2. *A History of the Inquisition,* III, 333 & n1.
3. *Longas,* p. 57.

Moriscos. An attempt was also made to disarm them. On January Ist, 1568 the Moriscos of Granada were ordered to give up within three years their Arabic language, their dress and custom, and to keep their doors open on Fridays and on the days of Muslim festivals. They were also forbidden to take bath outside or inside the house and to keep slaves.[1] Charles Lea says, "This prohibition of bathing even by Christians is a curious illustration of the civilization of the period. It had degenerated since the Fuero de Ternel granted in 1176 by Alfonso II of Aragon, which prescribed that the public bath should be used by men on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, by women on Mondays and Wednesdays, and by Jews and Moors on Fridays. On Sundays the baths were closed and no water was heated."[2] T he destruction of their baths contributed to the Moriscos' rebellion.[3]

Edwyn Hole says, "The 13th century *fuero* or statute of Zorita, a village in the Guadalajara, provides that men shall frequent them (baths) on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, women on Monday and Wednesday, Jews on Friday and Sunday."[4] Perhaps there were no Mudejars in Zorita because Hole does not mention the Muslims in this context. The Muslims in Spain were in the habit of taking bath daily accordingly the public baths were reserved for men in the

1. *Cf.* Aurelino Fernandez, *Reflexiones sobre la Rebelion de los Moriscos y Censo de Publicacion*, Granada, 1840, pp. 14-15 & n[1] ; Pedro Longas. *Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos*, pp. XLVI, XLVII ; Cf. Palencia, *Historia*, p. 120.
2. *A History of the Inquistion of Spain*, III, p. 336 n[1]
3. *Ibid.*, III, p. 336.
4. *Andalus*. p. 60.

morning and for women in the afternoon. Hole also says that by the 16th century the Christians tried to prevent the Muslims from bathing also. In 1567 the Christian church after a solemn ceremony closed down all the baths at Granada.[1]

The Moriscos began to reorganise themselves against the royal policy of forcible conversion and extermination specially in Granada. The organisation became known as *Cofradio de la resurreccion*. On the plea of collecting funds for opening a hospital they received the royal permission to go round the country. But they utilised the occasion to buy arms and ammunitions and to organise a general revolt of the Moriscos.

On the Ist of January 1568, an order was passed requiring the registration of the names of the Morisco children between the ages of 3 to 15 years for education on Christian lines.[2] Throughout the first half of the 16th century, laws were passed to convert the Moriscos to Christianity but no attempt was made to educate their children after the Christian fashion. This time also they were only asked to enrol the names of their children for education but very little was done in this respect. The Moriscos, thereupon. rose in revolt in Granada specially in the Alpujarra mountain under the leadership of Fernando de Valor (Maulvī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Umayyah known as Abu Humeya) in December 1568. The royal force under the command of Don Juan de Austria, an illegitimate son of Emperor Charles V and a military expert, proceeded to suppress this revolt and in June 1569 A. C. 3,500 Moriscos were expelled from Granada to Seville.

The Moriscos were proud of their nationality deep-rooted in their glorious past. They considered themselves to be as

1. *Andalus*, p. 61
2. *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, p. 336.

Spanish as the old Christians were. Aben Humeya before taking up arms at Granada said, "Don't you know that we are in Spain, and that we have owned this land for 900 (800) years ?" and added further, "We are no band of thieves but a kingdom : nor is Spain less abandoned to vices than was Rome."[1] Even after expulsion, the Moriscos continued to feel that they were Spanish. "Wherever we are, weep for Spain, for after all, there we were born, and it is our natural father land. Now do I know and feel what is usually called the sweet of the father land."[2]

The Moriscos might have succeeded in overthrowing the Christian rule at least in Granada and its suburbs had there been no family quarrels among them. Their leader Fernando de Valor was killed by his own followers in October 1569. Under their next leader, Aben Aboo, they fought and created troubles in the region but they were hunted by the royal force from place to place till they submitted in 1571 A. C. All of them were mercilessly expelled from the entire province of Granada to the mountains of Castile and northern Spain.[3] Later on some of them seemed to have crept in again to Granada as is evident from the fact that at the time of their final expulsion from Spain in 1609 A. C. there were still some to be expelled from Granada.

The Moriscos were forbidden by law to follow the trade of butchers, or even to kill a fowl. This law remained in force even as late as 1595.[4] When coercive measures were adopted against the Moriscos in 1581 A. C., revolts broke out in

1. Don Antonio de Fuenmayor, *Vida Y hechos de Pio V*, 1595 quoted by Janer, Florencio, in *Condicion social de los Moriscos*, 1857, p. 144.

2. The Quijote, II, 54 quoted by Castro, p. 93.

3. *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, pp. 336-40.

4. *Ibid*. pp. 382 and n.[2]

Valencia. They were put down with great difficulty. Felipe II contemplated expelling them in 1582 A. C. but did not do it.

Bertrand says, "When Francois I was a prisoner of Charles V, and the story of the conquest of Granada was read to him, it appears that he exclaimed : 'And these Musulmans ! They were not driven out ! Then everything is still to be done." The king of France was justified, according to him, for reasoning as a political realist. The learned writer adds that the Moriscos "detested their rulers and neighbours, and maintained relations with peoples which were enemies of Spain and Christianity—the Berbers, the Moroccans, the Egyptians, the Turks—and plotted with them."[1]

According to Spanish sources, the Moriscos attempted to rise with the help of the Berbers and Turks under the protection of Henry IV of France. Bertrand says, "At the end of the reign of Philip II, the Moriscos of Aragon made an offer to Henry IV of France to put at his disposal an army of eighty thousand men.[2] On this plea they were persecuted mercilessly and in 1605 A. C. a number of them were arrested for taking part in this plot ; but the French sources are totally silent on this topic. It cannot be said, therefore, with any certainty that the Moriscos did plot with the French although they received help from the Turks and the Berbers. For this reason, they were not allowed to live on and wander about the Mediterranean coasts and, if found there, they were killed on the spot by the vigilant guards. They were regarded as the fifth columnists of the day and the question of their stay in the country as Muslims became a vexing problem to the government. In 1605 Diego Paez Limpti of Almagro was burnt

1. *The History of Spain*, pp. 147-9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

as an *impenitent negative*.[1] The same year a Junta was formed to decide as to what should be done with the Moriscos.

Their Expulsion and its Consequences :—In March 1607 the Junta submitted a report that the Moriscos should either be baptised afresh or expelled *in toto* but no definite decision was taken until July 1609 when the Chief Minister Lerma became convinced of the necessity for the expulsion of the Moriscos. He took this drastic step not on religious grounds alone but, most probably, because he earned a lot of money by way of bribes incidental to the expulsion of the Moriscos.

Bertrand says, "It was alas! in the name of Heaven that the Spaniards exterminated and expelled the Moors ; but it must be recognised that in doing so they had the best of worldly reason." It was the violence of the Muslims in their heyday, according to him, which provoked reprisals by the Spaniards and made them fanatical and merciless.[2] A law for their final expulsion was passed on the 4th of August 1609 and it was actually enforced in September of the same year. About 467, 500 Moriscos including neo-Christians were expelled from the country.[3] Only

1. Charles Lea, *History of the Inquisition*. Reports have also reached us about the burning of seven Jews in one *auto de fe* at Seville in 1480 A. C. (Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, p. 559 n 1).

2. *The History of Spain*, p. 149.

3. Basing his information on the original Spanish sources Danvila (p, 339) gives the following figures of the expelled Moriscos :—

Valencia more than	15, 000
Valle del Ricote	2, 500
Andalucia	80, 000
Castile, Mancha & Extremadura	64, 000
Aragon	64, 000
Catalonia	50, 000
Campo de Calatrava	6, 000
Murcia	15, 000
	467, 5000

those, who could produce certificates for their regular observance of religious rites for two consecutive years and for their dis-association with the Moriscos, were allowed to live in the country. Their children up to the age of seven years were exempt from this. Many neo-Christians, who would not produce the certificates, were expelled. "The Duke of Gandia, who had an enormuos sugar crop and who could get no other skilled labour to work in his mills, vainly offered whatever they might seek. The only condition they would accept was the free exercise of their religion ; the Duke appealed to the Viceroy but Ribera declared it to be a concession beyond the power of king or pope to grant, for they were baptised."[1] Danvila and other Christian writers argue that for the expulsion of the Moriscos public opinion was ascertained and the people voted for their expulsion.

For the sake of agriculture six per cent of the Morisco agriculturist families were allowed to stay on[2] but fearing further persecution they preferred to leave the country along with the others. The landed property of the expelled Moriscos was given to their landlords. As a result there was a revolt in Valencia where the Moriscos were still powerful. Under their leader Jerenimo Millini they resisted but were crushed and were forced to leave the country without any provision being made for their food and clothing. About 2,500 of them continued to live in mountains of Valencia called *Valle del Ricote* till 1613 A. C. when negotiations took place. They were given provisions and allowed to move out of the country to Algeria. Between the years 1610 and 1612 the Moriscos had been expelled from

1. Charles Lea, *The Inquisition*, III, p. 396 & n.1
2. *Ibid.*, p. 395 ; *Cf.* Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos Epañoles y su expulsion*, II, Valencia, 1901, p. 208 &n 31.

Andalucia and other parts of Spain. In 1610 about 900 to 1,000 children were said to have been left behind in Spain.[1] As long as the Moriscos lived in Spain they were subject to torture and persecution and a number of them were burnt on the charge of heresy.

Regarding the sufferings of the Moriscos on their way to exile, Henry Charles Lea says, "The rich were required to pay for the poor, and the commissioners were cruel in their exactions, making them pay for the water in the brooks, and the shade of the trees in their long summer journeys beside exacting from them as wages much more than was due. France was inundated by the emigration. There was one body of some fourteen thousand souls, that was refused admission to France, after they had reached Sanfrance, the last Spanish town on the mountain road over the Pyrenees. They had paid forty thousand ducats for permission to go to France besides the export duties on what they carried· and the expense of the commissioners in charge of them. Forced to turn back on the long road to the Alfaques, so many of them sickened and died in summer heat that it was feared that they would bring pestilence to the ships. In short the story of the exodus from Aragon is one of heartless greed and reckless inhumanity."[2] Janer says that the expulsion of the Moriscos of Aragon was not less sad and miserable than the expulsion of those of Valencia.[3] The Moriscos were left behind in the garden region of Murcia, in Aragon and in Valencia and such traces are discerned.[4]

1. Pascual Boronat, *Los Moriscos*, II, p. 25.
2. *A History of the Inquisition*, III, pp. 401-402.
3. Janer, Don Florencio, *Condicion Social de los Moriscos de España*, p. 90
4. Cf. F. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *De los moriscos que permanecieron en España despues de la expulsion decretada for Felipe III*, in *Revista de*

Some of the expelled Moriscos by bribing the guards of the ports and passes came back to Spain but refrained from calling themselves as Moriscos and merged with lower classes of the people. Many of the expelled Moriscos died before or after reaching their places of refuge. Two-thirds to three-quarters of the exiled are estimated to have died.[1] The unarmed and penniless Moriscos had been expelled through different ports and passes to France, the Mediterranean islands and North Africa. The majority of these expelled Moriscos who escaped death went to Tunis and Rabāṭ and a few to Turkey. The story of their sufferings is painful indeed and there is hardly any parallel to it either in medieval or in modern history.

The annihilation of the Moriscos was the main object of the Spanish monarchs so that even at the time of expulsion hardly any consideration was made for the safety of their life and property. They were betrayed and instead of allowing them to go to North Africa or any other Muslim countries they were forced to the Bay of Biscay through Catalonia making them preys to the pirates. Louis Bertrand, who tries to justify the expulsion of Moriscos on the ground of religious unity and political security of the country, observes thus, "That this drastic procedure was disastrous for Spain there is not the shadow of a doubt. If a swarm of people profited by it, the country as a whole was impoverished, and above all it was depopulated... While the constables and the officers of justice had filled their pockets with the fines to which repressive regulations exposed the poor Moriscos, Christian merchants and landlords bought at

España, 1871, pp. XIX-XX : *Manifestacion de los hijos de moriscos que quedaran en onteniente*, 1611 published by V. Castaneda in *Boletin de la Academia de la Historia*, 1923, pp. 421-27.

1. *A History of the Inquisition*, III, p. 408 n 3.

bargain prices the houses and the lands which they abandoned when they were expelled. But the nobles who employed Moorish or Morisco peasants on their estates to till their land were furious at these expulsions, and they opposed them as far they could making themselves responsible for the peacefulness and submission of the suspects (but in vain)." [1]

According to Richelieu the expulsion of the Moriscos was "the boldest and most barbarous in human annals. [2] ...The causes of decadence were many, but not least among them must be reckoned the fierce intolerance which led to the expatriation of the most economically valuable classes of the population." [3] Gonzalez Palencia sums up, "The expulsion contributed to the decadence of the agriculture, industry and to the depopulation of Spain." [4]

On May 11, 1610 the Real Audiencia of Valencia sent a report to the king regarding some 700 Moriscos who had stayed on. The report was that they were experts in irrigating fields and knew the art of manufacturing sugar and producing rice, silk and other articles which the Christians did not know. The Christians utilized their knowledge of agriculture. The Moriscos were allowed to remain as slaves in order to work with the Christians in the fields which had been desolated by the expulsion of the Moriscos.[5] Francisco says that the Moriscos' system

1. *The History of Spain*, Part I, p. 155.
2. *Memorias de Richelieu*, I, p. 86 quoted by Charles Lea in *A History of the Inquisition*, III, 410 n3.
3. Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III, p. 410.
4. *History de la España Musulmana*, p. 121 ; *Cf.* Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 563-4 ; *cf.* Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, 1888, 279-280.
5. *Hispana*, XIII, pp. 235-565.

of irrigation and cultivation was conserved in Murcia.[1] In Valencia the 'Arab system of irrigation is still followed. According to Janer, the Moriscos were such great experts in the art of cultivation that, in spite of cultivating less fertile lands, they were mostly richer during the time of Felipe III than the Christians who cultivated more fertile lands.[2] Admiring the society of the Moriscos, Charles Lea says, "There was no beggary among them and quarrels were rare, differences being for the most part amicably settled without recourses to their judges."[3] There is some truth in this statement as adversity and long suffering made them reform themselves and regain their humane qualities.

1. Francisco Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Estado social de los Mudejares de Castilla*, Madrid, 1866, p. 136.
2. *Condicion social de los Moriscos*, p. 67.
3. *A History of ihe Inquisition*, I, p. 65. This is a revised and enlarged edition of the paper, *The Moriscos*, published in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1957, pp. 88-94.

CHAPTER XVIII

CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE MUSLIMS IN SPAIN

The success of the early Muslims was mainly due to their religious fervour and national pride ; the one inspired them to spread the religion from country to country and the other led them to conquest. But with the expansion of Muslim power and the consequent growth of luxury, the conquerors gave themselves up to a life of ease. During this period of ease, natural rivalries and jealousies created factional grudges and caused the ultimate ruin of the kingdom.

The Muslim hold in Spain could only exist so long as the administration remained tolerably efficient, the police and military were strong and loyal and the country was controlled by a capable and impartial ruler. A close scrutiny of the facts leads one to the conclusion that the decline and fall of the Muslim power in Spain and the ultimate ruin of the Muslims were due to certain inherent weaknesses in their social, political and administrative structure.

Disunity and Tribal Jealousy :—It was due more to internal conflicts than to the pressure of external foes that the Muslim Empire in Spain collapsed. The germs of disintegration were already present even when the first Muslims landed in Spain. The country came to be inhabited by people of diverse races and religions, 'Arabs (Ḥimyarites and Yamanites), Syrians (Muḍarites), Berbers (Ṣanhājah and Zanātah), neo-Muslims, Christians and Jews. The 'Arabs and Berbers had brought

with them from their homelands their ancestral tribal rivalries. Instead of fighting against their common foe, the Christians, they fought among themselves. For example, on the fall of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī at the battle-field of Tours the Muslims because of tribal jealousy could not select a new commander to renew the fight the followtng morning against the exhausted Christians under Charles Martel. Ḥājib al-Manṣūr belonged to the Yamanī camp and was, therefore, intolerant towards the Muḍarites.

With the help of the Berber soldiers Manṣūr maintained his despotism but he became unpopular. Throughout the Umayyad period in Spain we find instances of jealousy and civil war among tribes and factions, natives and foreigners. Only a strong ruler could keep them under control. In the last days of the Umayyads many provinces seceded from the centre as Spain itself had separated from the 'Abbāsid Empire of Baghdād. After the secession of the provinces from the central government the Cordovan monarchy fell to pieces giving rise to the Berbers in the south, the Slavs in the east, the 'Arabs in the south-west and the neo-Muslims and Christians in the north. On the fall of the Umayyads a number of short-lived dynasties arose. These petty rulers were subject to social hatred and tribal jealousy. Mu'tamid of Seville and Mā'mūn of Toledo fought with one another. Yaḥyá of Malaga united the Berber chiefs and formed a coalition against the 'Arab chiefs of Spain. He threatened the stability of Cordova and Seville, but the coalition did not last long and the Berber chiefs fell out among themselves.[2] Yaḥyā was defeated and killed by Ismā'īl of Seville, who was later in his turn killed by Zuhayr the Slav chief of Almeria. Then there was rivalry between Zuhayr and Bādis of Granada. Bādis, the Zirid ruler, was

the only leader of the Berber bloc to fight Muʻtamid, the head of the ʻArab bloc. The Banū Ḥammūd were not united and had two rival capitals, Malaga and Algeciras. Some of the petty rulers not being satisfied with the destruction caused by civil war invited the Christians to hasten the ruin of Muslim Spain. When Mā'mūn, the greatest ruler of the Banū Dhū al-Nūn of Toledo, could not wrest Cordova from the hands of ʻAbd al-Malik b. Jahwar, he allied himself with the Christians of Castile and Leon to fight the Muslims and entertained Alfonso VI at his court. The Naṣrid dynasty, the champion of the later Muslims in Spain, was founded with the help of the Christians on the ruins of other Muslim dynasties. In the end this dynasty too, like its predecessors, succumbed to the rising power of the Christians.

The dissatisfied Berbers, who were not given a due share in the administration of the country, maintained close contact with their original home and were always hostile to the ʻArab power. Any outbreak of Berber unrest in North Africa usually took the shape of rebellion against the ʻArabs in Spain. The Berbers contributed to the destruction of ʻArab power in Spain and when that was completed they annexed Spain to their own Empire. The Murābiṭīn and Muwaḥḥidīn came to Spain at the period when it had lost its military strength. They ruled over Spain from Morocco with the result that they could not maintain effective control over it. In the end many Berbers returned to their native land. The neo-Muslims had no land to migrate to and the ʻArabs could not contemplate migration. The factional fighting amongst the ʻArabs and Berbers, the natives and the foreign elements continued throughout the period of decadence and ceased only with the ruin of Muslim power in Spain.

Weak Government :—The existence of the Muslim Empire depended mostly upon the character of the rulers and nobles and upon its military strength. When the line of the Umayyads degenerated into a succession of puppet rulers, the administrative machinery deteriorated and the government proved incapable of discharging even its police duties.

The selfish and unpatriotic conduct of the Muslim nobility was largely responsible for the internal disintegration of the Empire. A change for the worse was observed even among the nobility of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III's time and this became more marked during the time of al-Ḥakam II and his successors. In order to crush the rebellious nature of the ‘Arab aristocracy, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III had employed a large number of the Slavs and Ḥājib al-Manṣūr, a large number of the Berbers in the army. But this was of no avail and worsened the relation between the ruler and the nobility still more. From the time of Ḥakam I the influence of the slaves and eunuchs had increased in the court until the Slavs formed a separate party during the khilāfat period and took active part in court intrigues offering presents and posts even in making and unmaking kings. In spite of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān's endeavour the problem of national unity remained unsolved and no tangible and long standing result could come out of this artificial unity.

In the task of governing Spain, the Muslim rulers relied mainly on hardy ‘Arabs, Syrians and Berbers. But the presence of a large number of foreigners, Slavs and Negroes, in the army made it undependable. These foreigners fought for money and not out of patriotic feeling. They seldom took interest in suppressing revolts and fighting against the enemies of their employers. Al-Ḥakam II's army consisting of foreign mercenaries gave a poor account of itself before the Berbers

in Ifriqiyah. The heavy strain put on the imperial army during the long and protracted campaign waged by Abū ʻĀmir Muḥammad in the North further undermined the military strength of the empire.

The successors of al-Ḥakam II and Abū ʻĀmir Muḥammad were not men of talent or of such administrative experience as to be able to control the rebels of the empire to which they succeeded. The degeneration actually started from the time of Hishām II, who was minor at the time of his accession to the throne and who was dominated by his prime ministers. This degeneration was due to the enervating influence of the climate, easy availability of food, the practice of inter-marrying with the Andalusians, indulgence in amusements and enjoyments and other allied causes. Further, the princes did not always undergo administrative training by serving as governors and military commanders. They indulged mostly in civil strife and lived in glorious lives of luxury and ease in their *ḥaram*. There was no family love, especially among the later Umayyad princes and petty rulers; the princes were, therefore, inevitably doomed to lose political support of the members of the royal family and of the nobility.

These princes, losing their old vigour and strength, degenerated into mediocrities and passed their days in indolent ease. Abū ʻAmr ʻAbbād al-Muʻtaḍid of Seville, the greatest ruler of his time in Muslim Spain, had 800 chosen slave girls in his *ḥaram*. His successor Muʻtamid was too much fond of music and amusement. The Wazīr Ibn ʻAmmār and the Queen Rumayqiyah encouraged his unbounded appetites. Like Muʻtaḍid the builder of the famous *Alcazar* in Granada gave himself to merrymaking handing over the administration to a Jew named Samuel. Ibn ʻAbbās, the wazīr of Almeria, was

also noted for debauchery and drinking and had 500 singers and dancers in his *ḥaram*. Under the influence of such ambitious intriguers the monarchy suffered. Love of music and pleasure and indulgence in debauchery and drinking ultimately corrupted and enfeebled both rulers and subjects.

To the Valencians, who came to surrender to the Cid, he said sternly: "If you have urgent business, come to me and I will listen to you. For I do not shut myself up with women to drink and sing, as do your lords, of whom you never have audience."[1] This is a true picture of the decadent period of Muslim rule and is confirmed by the reproach of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn to the Andalusian petty rulers for their debauchery and libertinism. Under the enervatiug influence of Andalusian climate the Muslims lost their courage, bravery and barbarian sub-stratum of character and indulged in luxury and drinking and lived in the company of dancers and singers.[2] It was this materialistic and corrupt life of some kings and nobles which made the Spanish monks and clerics criticize the Muslims in general.

There was no political machinery to check the whims and caprices of the Amīrs and Khalīfahs. The advisory council which was the creation of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I was no check upon the autocratic actions of the ruler. Had there been any constitutional check upon the despotic power of the ruler much of the unrest and lawlessness that prevailed during the time of the weak rulers might have been averted.

Absence of strict laws of successions undermined the strength and prestige of the State. Every son, brother or other near relation of the preceding king considered himself to be the best candidate for the vacant throne and was not ready to give up his claim without a trial of strength. It meant

1. Bertrand, the *History of Spain*, p. 62.

unrest in the country and loss of prestige for the royal power. Had there been a fixed law of succession or a constitutional body to elect a new ruler, much unnecessary bloodshed and commotion might have been averted to the advantage of the country and the State.

There was no proper machinery of government for the administration of distant provinces. With vast resources at their disposal, ambitious governors often rose against the centre. Rulers failed to bring the provinces into closer relations with the central government by putting salutary checks upon the actions of the governors and dividing the provinces into smaller administrative units.

Sometimes the indifference of the government towards the rural areas drove the people to adopt hostile attitude towards the government. Practically, no suitable arrangements had been made during the weak monarchy to maintain peace and security in distant villages. The rustics were left to themselves and the government was concerned only with the collection of revenue. Consequently it mattered little to the villagers if there was any change at the centre. They remained attached to their own landlords and not to the ruler.

The military character of the government was maintained and no national government was formed in order to assimilate the conquerors with the conquered. The result was that there was always rebellion in the country and that the rebels were always sure of being supported by a section of the people. From the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I the natives of Spain began to hold important posts in the State and over and above the old tribal feuds of the 'Arabs and Berbers, there started quarrels between the natives and the foreigners and

that became more serious during the time of Ḥakam I and ʻAbd Allāh and still more after Ḥājib al-Manṣūr.

Economic Deadlock :—Continuous wars with the Christians and civil war among the Muslims themselves after the death of ʻAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffarr (d.1007 A. C.) impoverished the government to such an extent that there was no money to pay the soldiery or to repair the forts. The imperial demand for revenue increased. The peasantry deserted their agricultural occupations for other forms of employment. Some of them were even turned into robbers. The economic system of the Empire was strained almost to the breaking point. With the rise of the petty states, custom duties and tolls increased. Most of the Petty rulers had only one end in view and that was to enrich themselves at the cost of the people. They strove to increase their revenue by imposing new taxes, consumption duties and transit tolls. This raised the cost of living and hampered the free intercourse which had once made the Empire so prosperous. Indiscriminate distribution of patronage among the so called men of arts and letters and the payment of tributes to the Castilians and Navarrese caused a great drain on the treasury. For example, Yaḥyā al-Qādir, the grandson and successor of Mā'mūn of Toledo, being a very weak and incapable ruler, submitted to the Christians and exacted as much money as he could from his poor subjects in order to pay heavy tributes to his lords. The dissatisfied people rebelled and turned him out of the city and invited al-Mutawakkil, the ruler of Badajoz. The helpless Qādir sought help from Alfonso VI who conquered Toledo in 1085 A. C. for himself and Qādir had to pass the rest of his life in Valencia. Sa'd b. ʻAlī of Granada purchased peace by agreeing to pay 12,000 dīnārs as the annual tribute to Henry IV. This heavy tribute could not be paid by his son

and successor Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī (1465-82 A. C.) giving fresh excuse to the Christians for raids. Bertrand says, "It was a long standing custom among the Christian princes to prefer protectorate, with payment of tribute, to conquest and expulsion or extermination."[1]

Geographical Disadvantage and Drawback of Muslim Policy :— The country was big and the means of communication and travel primitive to allow the territory to develop into a well-knit economic and political unit. Conditions were not yet favourable for the complete consolidation of Spain and the repeated attempts of some of the Muslim rulers in this regard could not completely overcome the racial tendencies which divided the people. Due to physical features the roads were zig-zag and could not serve for the swift movement of armies and the more so when the journeys were not safe in the times of weak rulers.

The Muslims could not continue to have colonies in France as the Franks had in Spain on the strength of which the latter invaded the country and contributed to the destruction of the Muslim State. To consolidate their power, the Muslims could have tried to destroy all the Frankish pockets in Spain and continued to have their own in France. They should have set up military bases in France which would have at least safeguarded their own possessions in Spain even if they would have served for further advance into Europe. They had only one military base, Narbonne, in south-eastern France in the early period of their rule, but even this was not very strong and in no decisive battle did they receive the help of any considerable force from Narbonne to fight against the enemies in the interior of France. They had always to look for aid

1. *The History of Spain*, p. 148.

to Cordova, from where any hope of immediate help was made more difficult by distance, difficult land-routes and a weak naval power. There were only a few passes in the snowy Pyrenees and even these remained frozen for about six months in the year. They selected Cordova as the capital so that they could depend on regular help from the Muslim territories of North Africa but in order to have permanent hold ọver the whole country, Toledo or Medinaceli was better suitted to have been the capital. From that capital it would have been easier to send forces to every corner of the country than it had been from Cordova which was, however, easily accessible to the North Africans.

Climatic, political and economic causes led, in the eighth century, to the Meseta of the Douro becoming a desert demarcating inhabitation of the Musulmans of the South and the Christians of the North. By the tenth century, there grew up a wall of fortresses along this boundary line, which was destroyed and occupied by the Christians of the North in the eleventh century. With the fall of Toledo in 1085 A. C., the whole of Andalucia fell an easy prey to the advancing Christian forces of the North. Bertrand observes, "In the same way as the Moors for centuries had consumed the Christians, so, since they had become stronger (especially after the conquest of Toledo), they had started consuming their enemies (Muslims)."[1]

To the vast majority of the indigenous people of Spain the Muslim rule was that of a different stock of people professing a different religion and could not, therefore, expect to have that security of stability which the spontaneous support of the whole people could ensure. The Muslim rulers realised that there could not be a great empire without a great people. 'Abd al-

1. *The History of Spain*, p. 148.

Raḥmān III succeeded in uniting his people but this imposed unity did not endure. The 'Arab nobles were crushed and the Muslim rulers depended on foreign mercenaries. Thus the state which did not get help from any quarter when she needed it suffered from serious loss.

When the Muslims were degraded socially, politically and morally the Christian clergy and nobility had the time and opportunity to strike. Towards the close of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's reign the fanatic Christians of the capital taking advantage of his tolerance, kindness and simplicity had begun to assume a dangerous and menacing attitude. A few fanatics were imprisoned and some killed. Muḥammad I suppressed their rising with an iron hand but could not change the heart of the Christian zealots whose hatred against the Muslims remained unabated. These Christians joined Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who declared that he wanted to avenge the wrongs of the distressed and relieve the natives from the servitude of the 'Arabs. They kept quiet as long as there was a strong ruler on the throne of Cordova and submitted only to force. Toledo with its central position was able to defy the Muslim authority from time to time. This shows the weakness of the authority. The short-sightedness of the Muslim policy is also seen in allowing the Christians to live in considerable numbers inside the cities. They invited the Christian princes to attack and instigated the aspiring chiefs to rebel. They joined their brethren of the North in destroying the Muslim Empire and, finally, in expelling the Muslims from the country.

In spite of the many internal drawbacks briefly mentioned above the Muslims could have continued to rule over Spain had they been united among themselves without giving way to their racial and tribal feelings and to their conflicting selfish

and racial interests, the instances of which we find throughout the period of the Muslim rule in Spain. Such being the case, their downfall was quite natural without even taking into account the zeal, strength and fanatic character of the enemies. For their ruin and downfall the Muslims were themselves primarily responsible but for their expulsion, the fanaticism of the Christians was responsible. The Muslims had every right to live in the country no matter whether as rulers or subjects because their forefathers had settled in the country long ago like those of many Christian neighbours and they had done everything possible for the development of the coutry. They were the sons of the soil and, as citizens, had equal rights with the Christians. The main fault for which they were penalised and ultimately driven out from their native land was that many of them did not profess Christianity.

CHAPTER XIX

ADMINISTRATION

The Umayyad Empire was divided into two viceroyalties the Eastern and the Western. The more important one was that of al-Maghrib (West) with its headquarter at Qayrawān. It was divided into seven districts Barqah, Ifriqiyah, Tahirat, Sijilmāsah, the Mediterranean islands of Sicily, Sardinia and the Balearic islands, Spain and Southern France. Spain was ruled by a governor called Amīr or Walī. The capital was shifted from the Gothic headquarter of Toledo to Seville and finally to Cordova. The civil and military administration of the country was in the hands of the Governor but the collection of revenues was the task of the 'Āmil, who was wholly independent of the Amīr and directly appointed by the Khalīfah. The Governor was appointed by Khalīfah and sometimes by the viceroy of Ifriqiyah if he was strong and the Khalīfah was weak. He ruled almost independently, although nominally he was subject to the viceroy of Ifriqiyah. The tenure of his office was subject to the caprices of his two masters. He laboured under a twofold disadvantage, being subordinate both to the viceroy and the Khalīfah. This division of loyalty was not conducive to good government. It encouraged the leading party of the Arabs to depose one Amīr and set up another and the approval of this change had to come in due course of the time from the Khalīfah or Viceroy. The provincial officers like Ṣāḥib al-Kharāj, Qāḍī, the Kātibs and others were appointed by the Amīr or Khalīfah.

The Amīr and Khalīfah :—An end to this dual subservience was put by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I in 756 A. D. by breaking Spain away from the Khilāfat of Baghdād. The earlier Umayyad rulers continued to call themselves as Amīr till 929 A. D., the year the Umayyad Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān III assumed the title of Khalīfah. The Amīr or the Khalīfah caused the Khuṭbah to be read and coins struck in his name. He was the supreme temporal and spiritual head of the State. Although he held a hereditary office he was sometimes raised to the throne by the nobles. Living in pomp and grandeur he appointed a *wazīr* to carry on the civil administration, a *qā'id* and a *qāḍī* to discharge military and judicial duties respectively. A strong Amīr or Khalīfah was always the arbiter of all governmental affairs and did not tolerate any intrusion on his rights nor on the rights of any of his subjects. He not only appointed officers to look after the well-being of the subjects but also reviewed his troops and toured the provinces. When at leisure he spent his time in the company of poets, philosophers and scientists.

Offices :—The Central government offices were housed in Alcazar at the Bāb al-Sudda near the bridge.

The machinery of government under the Caliph was broadly divided into three departments, *viz.*, finances, judicial and military departments which were independent of one another. The high posts in all these departments were held generally by the 'Arabs and Berbers and the lower ones were filled in by the neo-Muslims, Christians and Jews. The headquarters of all these institutions were located around the Umayyad palace at Cordova. Although no special training was required for holding a post of distinction experiece was counted. Highly educated officials knew something of every thing and were, therefore, transferred from one

department to another or held two or more distinct posts at a time.[1] The civil executive officers, therefore, acted sometimes as military and judicial officers as well.

Wizārat :—While the Independent Amīr or Khalīfah was the supreme head of government, the actual administration of the country was run by his *wazīrs* (ministers). Instead of *wazīrs*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I had a number of Shaykhs to assist him with their experience and advice.[2] Each *wazīr* was in charge of a particular department. There were four principal departments, *viz.*, Finance, Justice, Foreign Affairs and War. The promotion of any one to the post of a wazīr did not necessarily mean the abandonment of his previous office. By promotion he was included in the nobility and entitled to receive a higher salary.[3] Sometimes a minister was in charge of two offices, known as Dhu'l Wizāratayn. Ibn Shuhayd held two such posts in the Umayyad period and Ibn al-Khaṭīb had the same privilege in the Naṣrid period. In Spain he was neither a representative (*nā'ib*) of a Caliph nor was he a Chief minister as the word *wazīr* denoted in the 'Abbasid East. He approached the Khalīfah through the prime minister, known as ḥājib in Umayyad Spain.[4]

The ḥājib being next to the Caliph screened the Khalīfah from the eyes of his subjects as the word indicates. As president of the Council of ministers,[5] he represented the Caliph in all state affairs, dealt with all the royal mandates, admini-

1. Cf. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, II, pp. 205, 211, 213 ; Levi-Provencal, *L' Espagne*, p. 62.
2. Gayangos, II, p. 91.
3. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, II, p. 195.
4. *Cf.* Gayangos, II, p. 150 : *Levy*, *Sociology of Islam*, II, 26.
5. Cf. Levi-Provencal, *L 'Espagne*, pp. 64, 66 ; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 137.

stered the country and led military expeditions. A member of the royal family or a man of very exalted position, well-versed in civil and military administration, was usually offered this dignified post.[1] During the regime of the weak rulers the ḥājib practically ran the entire show of administration.[2] He appointed and deposed ministers, governors and judges, though in theory he sought the approval of the Khalīfah. Gradually he became the king maker and his office became so important that some petty rulers took pride in calling themselves as ḥājibs in the eleventh century.

khuṭṭah (Secretariat) :—The Khuṭṭah was another equally important administrative machinery. Its function was to look into all State affairs and to control all income and expenditure. It was headed by a Chief Secretary in charge of *khidmat al-khilāfah*. He was almost equal in rank to a *wazīr* and received the same salary. The secretariat was divided into two departments under the charge of *Kātib* (*Ṣāḥib*) *al-Ras'āil* and *Kātib al-Dhamām* (Ṣāḥib al-Ashghāl al-Kharājiyah). The first dealt with the royal correspondence and the other with public finance.

The Kātib al-Rasā'il as head of the department of correspondence took parts in the deliberations of the Council. By the middle of the 10th century the department of correspondence gradually grew into so much importance that it was divided into some sub-offices. About this time Jahwar ibn Abī 'Abdah worked as Chief of the inspection of all correspondence relating to the central government.[3]

1. Cf. *L' Espagne*, p. 64.
2. Cf. Gayangos, II, p. 92.
3. Ibn 'Idhārī, II, p. 236.

The *Ṣāḥib al-Rasā'il* corresponded with *Ṣāḥib al-Barīd* (the officer-in-charge of postal organization). Besides his usual function the Ṣāḥib al-barīd supplied the King with the information of activities of the officials and subversive movements of officials and chiefs. Along the roads post offices were set up. Although the postal service was for the government, it accepted urgent private letters and other official objects like presents. Pigeon post was used for speedy delivery and to signal serious danger fires were lit on the top of hills.

Ṣāḥib al-Ashghāl, the head of the department of Public Finance, was empowered to impose taxes, to receive revenues and to make disbursements. In practice he was more powerful and influential than a *wazīr* and kept the province in awe by means of his overseers and tax-collectors. His duties were performed by a *wakīl* under the Naṣrids of Granada.

Justice :—The Amīr or Khalīfah was the highest judge and heard special cases. Normal judicial administration was carried on by a judiciary consisting of the Chief qāḍī at Cordova, qāḍīs in cities and ḥākims in small towns. The Chief qāḍī was called *qāḍī al-quḍāt, wazīr al-qāḍī* or *qāḍī al-Jund* (judge of the brigade) who was posted at the military district (*Kurah*) headquarters to administer justice among the Syrian 'Arab tribes who had settled there at the beginning of the 8th century.[1] The qāḍī al-Jund used to be chosen from among the neo-Muslims and he became known as qāḍī al-jamā' (judge of the congregation). The Chief qāḍī ranked among the dignitaries of the State and had his seat with the wazīrs at official ceremony. For his guidance he had a council of jurists called *majlis al-shūrā* or *aṣḥāb al-rā'ī*[2] to give counsel at crucial moments in disputed

1. Al-Maqqarī, II, 92.
2. Levi-Provencal, *L' Espagne*, p. 81.

matters. He held so much power that he could summon even the ruler to his presence. Ibn Bas͟hīr (d. 823 A. D. the Chief qāḍī did not hesitate to pass judgement against the Amīr and made him pay compensation to a suitor and on another occasion he refused to accept the testimony signed by the Amīr who had to appear in the court to give his evidence before the Chief Qāḍī.[1]

In the 10th century often the post of Chief Imām of the Mosque and Chief Qāḍī used to be held by two different persons. The Qāḍī was in charge of Bayt al-Māl al-Muslimīn, preserved in the *maqṣūrah* of the Cordova Mosque[2] and administered *awqāf* (endowments) and the properties of orphans and insane. The qāḍīs posted in the provincial and district headquarters were the deputies of the Chief Qāḍī and performed all his duties. The Chief judge of the military courts was Qāḍī al-'Asākir.

In the judicial hierarchy of Cordova next to the Chief Qāḍī ranked the *Ṣāḥib al-Maẓāiim, Ṣāḥīb al-Radd, Ṣāḥib al-S͟hurṭah, Ṣāḥib al-Sūq* or *Muḥtasib* and *Ṣāḥib al-Mawārit͟h* (official in charge of inheritance.)

Cordova had another special judge called Ṣāḥib al-Maẓālim. He was appointed by the Amīr to hear cases of breach of privilege, discipline or of offences committed by public officials. Ṣāḥib al-Radd was to hear cases of complaint against the judges. Ṣāḥib al-Radd and Ṣāḥib al-Maẓālim were often one and the asme officer.[3]

The non-Muslims had their own judges to administer justice according to their own laws. But cases between a Muslim and non-Muslim were decided by a Muslim judge.

1. Al-Maqqarī, II, pp. 109-112.
2. *Cf.* Ibn 'Id͟hārī, *al-Bayān*, III, 98
3. Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne*, p. 95.

The usual punishments inflicted were fines, scourging, mutilation and in cases of heresy and apostasy, death.

Subordinate to the Qāḍī was a city magistrate called Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah, whom the common people called Ṣāḥib al-Layl and Ṣāḥib al-Madīnah (the night-guard and Chief of the city); but by the 10th century the two officials became independent of each other. Sometimes the qāḍī and Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah were one and the same man. The office of the Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah was located near the Gate of the Palace. His duties consisted of detecting and punishing crimes against the public moral or the civil regulations of the city or district entrusted to his care. The head of the police was under the direct control of the governor. The Chief of the police in the provincial towns was known as *Ṣāḥib al-Aḥdāth*. He stood half-way between the police and the regular soldiery. His duty was to prevent disturbances and other crimes.

The municipal police was under the command of a special officer called Muḥtasib, who belonged to the class of the qāḍīs. In the beginning the market officer was called Ṣāḥib al-Sūq or Walī al-Sūq but by the end of the 10th century he became known as Muḥtasib and Wullāt aḥkām al-ḥisbah.[1] The muḥtasib was the superintendent of the markets as well as the public censor. While inspecting the markets and examining weights and measures, he publicly flogged cheats and swindlers. He also dealt with all cases of gambling, sexual immorality and indecency in dress. In special cases he was empowered to inflict very severe punishment like cutting off of hands and even executing death sentences.[2]

1. *Cf.* Ibn Bashkuwāl, I, p. 162: Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, 46.
2. Cf. Ribera, *Aljoxani*, pp. 178-9/220-2 tr.

A town inhabited by the people of different races, religions and tribes was divided into several quarters. It was walled round for defence purposes and each quarter was separated by walls with some gates. There were night watchman called al-Dārabūn to close the city and quarters' gates after evening prayer preventing any communication during the night and at times of disturbances. The Dārabūns were well armed and had a watch dog and a dark lantern. There were watch towers called *atalayas* at strategic points to watch the frontier towns. Coastguards were posted to keep watch against pirates. Patrols and sentinels were posted on the roads at regular intervals for the safety of travellers and merchants.

Provincial Government :—For administrative purposes the whole country was first divided into five main provinces :

1. Andalusia, the country in the south situated between the Mediterranean Sea and the Guadiana river ;

2. Central Spain, the country between the Mediterranean and Lusitania in the west and the Douro river in the north ;

3. Galicia and Lusitania (modern Portugal) ;

4. The country on both sides of the Ebro ; and

5. Septimania, the southern Fance.

But as the country developed and administration centralized, the size of the provinces was reduced for better administration and each important town with its surrounding lands became a province. In the 10th century these provinces corresponded to the military districts (*kuwar* pl. of *Kurah*) and the three marches (*thughūr* pl. *thaghr*) e. g. Lower, Upper and Middle Marches. The two vital points of the frontier in the caliphate period were the towns of Saragossa and Toledo.

Each of these provinces was placed under a civil and military governor called the *walī*. The distrtct officer was called *ḥākim*. The Khalīfah's duties devolved on the governor. One of his main duties was to render military assistance to the Amīr or Khalīfah at Cordova. During the dependent 'Imārat period when the area covered by the province was large he had two or more lieutenant-governors posted in important cities and military commander on the frontier. The walī had about six ministers to administer affairs of minor importance in their respective districts. He toured the country to settle the disputes of the people and replaced the qā'ids and city magistrates guilty of dereliction of duty. The governor was, in general, a qā'id (military general) and belonged to a local aristocratic family of the Arabs, Berbers and of neo-Muslims. He sometimes paid a fixed portion of the revenue of the province to the ruler of Cordova.[1]

The governor posted in the frontier provinces was a military chief of great importance and held more power than the governors of other provinces. He belonged generally to the family of the Tujibids, Banū Hūd, Banū Razīn or Banū Dhū al-Nūn. During the period of decay of the Umayyads it was the frontier governor who declared his independence first.

Revenue :—Among the principal sources were land-tax, zakāt, jizyah, customs and market duties, mine tax and booty. During the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III the main sources of revenue as described by Ibn Ḥawqal were jibāyah (land-tax), Kharāj (tributes from Christian vassals), zakāt, minting of coins and import, export and market duties.[2] For the collection of these taxes an office after the name of Khuṭṭaṭ al-Ashghāl

1. *Ibn* 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, II, p. 153.
2. Kramers, *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 108.

was created at Cordova. The head of the revenue department was Khāzin, also known as *Ṣāḥib al-Mazkhan*, a man generally of aristocratic family.[1] Ḥakam I entrusted the task of collecting taxes in his Kingdom to the Christian Rabi son of Teodulfo.[2] The Jewish physician and politician Hasdai ebn Shaprut held an important post perhaps in the customs department.[3] In the 11th century a contemporary writer Ibn Ḥazm complains against the Jews'. rough and harsh method of collecting illegal taxes called *mukūs*.[4]

The lowest branch of the finance department was located in the villages and supervised by divisional head called 'Āmil. The harvest being ready, the field was inspected and the value of the produce was estimated by an officer called 'ashshar.[5] There was a mutaqabbil to collect market and other duties within the fiscal area of his *qabālah*. In order to check these officers from cheating and charging more than the dues, strict vigilance was kept on them.[6]

An account register was maintained and census was taken during the time of Yūsuf asl-Fihrī and the bishop Hostegesis prepared a complete descriptive list of tax and jizyah payers during the time of Muḥammad I and made annual visits to see that the taxes were properly realised.[7]

The rate of land-tax generally varied from 1/6th to 1/3rd according to the quality of the land. The practice of collec-

1. *Levi*-Provincal, *Histoire*, III, p. 30.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 162, III, p. 32.
3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 69, III, p. 32.
4. *Al-Andalus*, II, 1934, p. 35/88 tr.
5. Levi-Provencal, *Histoire*, III, p 39.
6. Cf. Gomez, Emilio Garcia, *El Tratado de Ibn 'Abdūn*. pp. 104-8.
7. Cf. Lopez, *Contribuciones*, pp. 96, 104.

ting the tax on cattle in kind was given up by the Umayyad Amīrs, but that of land-tax in kind or cash continued. The land-tax collected in kind during the time of Ḥakam I amounted to 4, 700 mudd of wheat and 7, 747 mudd of barley.[1] 'Alī b. Ḥammūd (1009-1018 A. D.) ordered the people of Jaen to pay the land-tax in cash at the rate of six dīnārs for a mudd of wheat and three dīnārs for that of barley instead of paying in kind.[2] Muslims paid zakāt at the rate of 2½ % on their wealth and young earning members of non-Muslim families paid poll-tax (jizyah) varying from 12 to 48 dirhams (£1. 5 to £ 5) a year in monthly instalments. There were custom-houses in big and small towns, commerical centres and ports. Idrīsī speaks of an office of *Rihādrah* (the custom-house) at Lorca and Ḥimyarī of that at Qalab.[3] Arms, war-horses, books and bridal ornaments were exempt from import duties.[4] Goods for personal consumption were also exempt from such duties.[5] After meeting the expenditure of local administration the amount of taxes deposited in the local treasury was passed on to the provincial Bayt al-Māl and from there the balance was transmitted to the Central headquarter at Cordova[6] which controlled all the treasuries of the country and replenished the coffer of a province which fell short of fund.[7] The taxes collected from the mustakhlaṣ (the royal land) were passed on directly to Bayt al-Māl al-Khāṣ (the royal treasury) for the personal expenses of the ruler. The royal Khās lands

1. Gayangos, I, p. 213.
2. Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīrah, I/I, p. 100.
3. Idrīsī, p. 196/239tr ; Ḥimyarī, p. 162.
4. Lopez, *Contribuciones*, p. 91.
5. *El Tratado de Ibn 'Abdūn*, p. 105.
6. *Akhbār Majmū'ah*, 22ff.
7. *Islamic culture*, 1960, pp. 22-27.

accumulated in the provinces due to the confiscation of lands from the nobles from time to time. The administrative head of the royal property was Ṣāḥib al-Ḍiyā‘.[1] The annual revenue from these lands and markets alone amounted to 765,000 dīnārs during the time of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III.[2] Some rulers showed due consideration to the tax payers when they suffered from any natural calamity. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III on his accession to the throne abolished all illegal taxes. Ḥakam II reduced the military and extraodinary taxes by one-sixth in 975 A. D. and Hishām II a year after abolished the tax on olive oil raised in Cordova.[3] The weak and petty rulers confiscated property bequeathed to mosques and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) expressed disgust at the imposition of heavy and illegal taxes on the Andalusians by the petty rulers of his time.[4]

Public and Relief works :—A considerable portion of state revenue was spent on the development of the country, on public and relief works. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II spent large sums on building palaces, mosques and bridges. During the time of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III one-third of the State revenue was spent on the construction of public buildings throughout the empire.[5] Ḥakam II spent lavishly "in the construction of mosques, houses of reception for the poor, hospitals for the sick and colleges for the youth and he ornamented his capital as well as other large cities in his dominions with baths, inns, markets, fountains and other works of public utility."[6]

1. Ibn ‘Idhārī, II, pp. 213, 221/329, 340 tr.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 247 ; *Azhār*, II, p. 27.
3. Gayangos, II, p. 134 ; Ibn ‘Idhārī, II, 276 ; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 386, 466, 514.
4. Lopez, pp. 110-11 ; *Al-Andalus*, II, 1934, pp. 36-37/42-43 tr.
5. Gayangos, II, 124, 146.
6. *Ibid*, 172.

During the time of famine, the collection of taxes from peasants was partly suspended. At the time of failure of the crops, due allowance was made by the landlords and the cultivators received compensation for their losses.[1] Distribution of alms became common and royal granary was thrown open for distribution of corn among the famine stricken people. In 914 A. D. when a severe famine broke out in the country, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III instructed his Prime Minister Badr b. Aḥmad to take special care of the people and accordingly the distribution of alms increased under the supervision of the people of ḥisbah.[2] In the famine relief work of 988-9 A.D. the royal granary of Manṣūr in which he took great pride and which contained four years back 2,000,000 mudds of wheat, was emptied.[3]

Army :—There were four categories of armies a permanent army of mercenaries with its headquarters at Cordova, a regular force (Jund, mobilised army) organised by the military fief holders, the irregular soldiers (the Baladis, the descendants of the ‘Arabs, who had come with Mūsā, and temporary contingent of volunteers (Hashid, recruits), enrolled at the time of an expedition.[4]

In the beginning, the soldiers were given fiefs instead of cash salaries and the Syrian junds were settled in different parts. Of the Syrian soldiers, about 7,000 in number under Balj ibn Bishr made the Governor of Spain, Abu'l Khaṭṭār (743-5

1. Levi-Proveneal, *Histoire*, III, 269-70.
2. Ibn ‘Idhārī, II, 173.
3. Ibn al-Khaṭīb *‘A'māl al-‘Alām*, p. 115.
4. *Cf.* S. M. Imamuddin, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and cultural History of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1965, 60-65.

A. D.), settle them in districts, which were granted to them in fief in lieu of their military service.[1] The tribe was the unit of military organization. Sometimes the selection of a commander from a particular tribe or from the neo-Muslims led to confusion in the camp and ultimate defeat of the Muslims in battle, as happened in the battle of Alhandega (al-Khandaq) during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.

The army organization underwent many changes as the Umayyad Amīrs and the Khalīfahs became more dependent on foreign troops and al-Manṣūr completed the system introduced by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, who had built up an army of 40,000 mercenary soldiers mostly Berbers. Ḥakam I constructed magazines, devised new weapons, kept a permanent force of mercenaries (ḥasham) and of guards (hawāshī) posted at the gate of the palace. He had a standing force of 50,000 mamluks.[2] They were called *al-Haras* (the guards) and they were all Berbers, Christians and Negroes. They had two large barracks with stables for their horses and two thousand cavalry always kept guard on the banks of the Guadalquivir with twenty officers, called 'Arīf, in charge of 100 men each.[3] In order to lead expeditions against Galicia, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II made the military service compulsory for the Cordovans. The number of regular soldiers was raised to 150,000 and of irregular troops to an unlimited number by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. His bodyguard numbered 12,000 veterans of whom 8,000 were cavalrymen.

The Turks in the East had their counterparts is Spain in the Ṣaqālibah (Slavs). A janissary was made of slaves from

1. *Cf.* Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, II, pp. 33-4/48-9 tr.
2. Ibn 'Idhārī, II, p. 81, Nuwayrī, p. 195.
3. *Cf.* *Akhbār Majmū'ah*, pp. 129-30.

many nations and races, epecially Slavs. These slaves were mostly brought from Slavonic countries and other parts of Europe by pirates and Jewish slave dealers of Verdun. Like the Turks at Baghdād the Slavs rose to positions of distinction at Cordova. To curtail the military power of the 'Arab tribes, regimental system was introduced by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III who considered the Slavs more reliable than his 'Arab nobles. The foreign recruits had been gradually disbanded and native recruits were substituted by Ḥakam II. This militia degenerated under the command of Ghālib. In order to capture power and to counter Ghālib, Ḥājib al-Manṣūr removed the native soldiers and unreliable 'Arab officers and recruited more and more the Berber and Christian mercenaries. The Berber soldiers were of two categories : the first consisted of regulars enrolled as soldiers called murtaziqa, the second of volunteers called muttawi'a.[1] The first had a share in the booty and the second only received prizes and gratuities on victory.

A corps of troops consisting of 5, 000 soldiers was under the command of a general called Amīr with a big flag (rāyah). It was divided into five contingents of 1,000 each under the command of an officer called qā'id with a flag (*'alam*). Each contingent was divided into five groups of 200 men each, under the command of a *naqīb*, with a standard (*liwā'*). Again each group was divided into five sections of 40 men, each commanded by an *'arīf* with a band. Each section was finally divided into five squads of 8 men, each under the charge of a *nazīr* with a pennon (*'uqdah*) on his lance.[2] For the inspection of the army an officer called *Ṣāḥib al-arḍ* was

1. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, III, p. 39.
2. Levi-Provencal, *L' Espagne*, p, 141.

appointed by Ḥājib al-Manṣūr.[1] Expeditions, either to conquer fresh lands or to collect taxes, were normally led in summer, called Ṣā'ifah and very rarely in winter (Shitāyah).

Ṭarṭūshi, a famous scholar of the 6th century hijrah, describes an eye witness engagement between Spanish Muslims and Christians thus : The Muslim foot soldiers, armed with shields, long lances and provided with sharp pointed javelins, constituted the first row. They put their lances obliquely on their shoulders, the base touching the earth and the point facing the enemy. They put their left knee on the ground raising the shield in the front. The archers were in the second row with arrows which were capable of piercing coats of mail. Behind them was drawn up the cavalry in the third row. When the attack began none of those who were kneeling down abandoned their position until the enemy came within range. Then the archers shot their arrows and the foot soldiers threw their javelins and met the enemy with the points of their lances. The infantry and archery then moved towards the right and left thus leaving in the middle a passage through which the cavalry charged the advancing foe and inflicted a defeat on the enemies if God so desired.[2]

For the payment of the soldiers there was a military *Diwān* and towards the later part of the Umayyad rule there was introduced a *Malāḥiq al-Diwān* to pay the auxiliary forces.[3] The Syrian junds served in the army for three months at a stretch and received 200 dinars, while the 'Arab Baladis served for six months and received 100 dinars. The Syrians were

1. Levi-Provencal, *L' Espagne*, p. 142.
2. Alarcon, *Lampara de los principes*, II, Madrid, 1931, pp. 332-3, R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, II, p. 340
3. Levi-Provencal, *L 'Espagne*, 129

exempt from the payment of tithes (land tax), while the Baladis paid tithes like other subjects. There was a third group of Syrians and 'Arabs who participated in expeditions on the same conditions as other subjects did.[1] The regular soldiers, excluding 'Arab Baladis, received additional pay at the end of each campaign at the rate of five to ten dinars per head.[2] Throughout the 9th century cash payment and feudatory systems overlapped one another. In the 10th century feudatory system was totally abolished and soldiers were paid in cash which increased state expenditure considerably.[3]

Navy :—In the beginning the Umayyad Amīrs did not pay much attention to the improvement of the navy and this was one of the main reasons for their failure to extend their empire beyond the Pyrenees. It was only when the Normans plundered the coastal towns and Seville that 'Abd al-Raḥmān II fortified the coastal towns and established a coast guard. He got the demolished mīnār, which guided the sailors to the Andalusian coasts, repaired.[4] In order to guard Ceuta and Gibraltar 'Abd al-Raḥmān III posted a fleet manned by mariners and soldiers under the command of two Qā'ids, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās and Yūnus b. Sa'īd on the African coast in 931 A. D.[5] A quarter of a century later the caliph sent another fleet under the command of a Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah, Aḥmad b. Ya'la.[6] The navy, with Pechina or Almeria as its chief naval base, became the most powerful in the

1. Levi-Provencal, *L' Espagne*, pp. 132-3
2. Cf. *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, p. 431
3. Cf. Levi-Provencal, *L 'Espagne*, pp. 135-6.
4. *The Ta'rikh-i-Fatḥ unduls*, p. 67
5. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, II, 220/340 tr.
6. *Ibid.* 238/368-9

Mediterranean Sea. The navy of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III disputed the supremacy of the Western Mediterranean Sea with the Fāṭimid fleet and in 953 A.D. destroyed Sicilian ship bound for Mahdiyah. ʻAbd Allāh b. Riyāḥin was the qā'id al-baḥr during the time of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III as well as Ḥakam II. Naval workshops were established at Tortosa, Denia, Alicante, Almeria, Vera, Algeciras, Iviza, Saltes, Silves and Santa Maria. Along the banks of the Guadalquivir there were important shipyards for building and repairing ships called marsā and dār-al-Ṣanā, a word which passed into European languages, Spanish atarazana and English 'arsenal.'

In 1116-7 Abu al-Ṣalat Umayyah b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz of Spain visited Egypt and made an attempt in salvaging a ship. The submerged ship was brought out but sank again, because the silk tow-rope broke under the strain.[1]

Generally an Andalusian ship took 36 days to reach the Syrian coast. In 1182-3 Ibn Jubayr, a famous Andalusian sailor, travelled in a Genoese ship from Audalusia to Alexandria in 20 days.[2]

There were two kinds of naval officers e. g. high officials called *ru'asā'* and low officials, aṣḥāb al-arjud. Every warship was under the command of a qā'id, captain, who occupied himself with equipment, training of the sailors, and manning of the vessels. The second officer, ra'īs, was put in charge of navigation. The crew of the ship included *nākhudā* (the master), *ruhbān* or *rahbān* (captain), *didbān* (inspector or lookout man) and others.

In the beginning the Muslim sailors dreaded very much to furrow the rough and stormy water of the Atlantic Ocean. In

1. Sulaymān Nadvī, *Arbon ki Jahāzrānī*, 169.
2. Gibb, *Rihlat Ibn Jubair*, pp. 35-38

order to attack Galicia from the coast a fleet of boats under the command of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Mughīth sailed down the river Guadalquivir in 879 A. D. and it reached the Atlantic Ocean but it was dispersed completely by a storm.[1] About one hundred and eighteen years later a considerable fleet was fitted out at Qaṣr Abī Dānish and launched a successful attack on Galicia.[2] By the 10th century the Muslim sailors of Lisbon began to explore the extent of the ocean and discover the other shore. Thus unsuccessful attempt was made by a party of eight sailors. About two and a half centuries later another Spanish sailor, Ibn Fāṭimah, travelled along the Atlantic coast of Africa and wrote about the interior of Africa. These stories of Muslim adventures in the Atlantic Ocean prove undoubtedly that the western coast of Africa was known to the Spanish Muslim sailors and suggest that perhaps by this route they might have gone to the southern and eastern coasts of Africa and also that they might have known the sea route across the Indian Ocean even before Vasco da Gama. According to 'Arab and Portuguese traditions, the Arabs showed Vasco da Gama the route to India and supplied him with a chart of the sea route known to the Mediterranean sailors. It was thus the Muslim spirit of discovery of new lands and new waters which ultimately enabled the Portuguese to land on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent and to discover the Americas.[3]

1. *Ibn Idhārī, al-Bayān*, II, 106-07 ; Nuwayrī, p. 56/48-9tr.
2. Gayangos, II, p. 194
3. Cf. S.M. Imam uddin, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1965, 70-71

APPENDIX A

THE RULE OF THE CORDOVAN MUSLIMS IN IQRIṬISH

827-961 A. C.

Cordovan Revolt :—Ḥakam I (790-822 A. C.), the Umayyad Amīr of Spain, was not popular among the fuqahā' (theologians) who once made an unsuccessful attempt to offer the throne of Spain to Ḥakam's brother Ibn Shammās in 805 A. C. The Amīr trusted no one and increased the number of his bodyguard composed mainly of Muslim and Christian slaves to a strength of about 6,000. They were called mutes because they did not know Arabic. The Amīr had to spend a large sum of money on this special force and, therefore, he had to impose town duties and extra taxes (*mukūs*), on the Cordovans causing discontent among the people. The Negro slave soldiers very often indulged in acts of lawlessness. This infuriated the Cordovans and though after the massacre of the nobles of Toledo in 807 A. C. both Toledo and Cordova remained peaceful for seven years, discontent never the less grew steadily among students and fuqahā' in the quarter of *Arrabel del Sur* of Secunda the southern part of the capital and a serious rebellion broke out in 814 A. C. One day when the Amīr was going as usual to the mosque for his prayer a citizen insulted him to his face to the great satisfaction of the people. The Amīr was infuriated at this insult and put ten men to death in punishment. This angered the Cordovans all the more and led the theologians to inflame their passions. Yaḥyā directed the movement but the man who took the most active part in instigating the people to rise against the Amīr was Ṭālūt.[1]

1. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *The Khilāfat-i-Muwaḥḥidīn*, p. 16.

One day in the month of Ramaḍān 198/ May 814 a member of the Amīr's Mamlūk bodyguard asked an armourer to polish his sword as stated earlier. When the armourer delayed in doing this the bodyguard got excited and killed him. An armed mob of a large number of Cordovans, thereupon, gathered before Ḥakam's palace intending to kill him. The Amīr sent a contingent of troops to disperse the rebels, but it was defeated. In rage Ḥakam ran out of the palace to fight against the rebellious Cordovans and ordered his cousin ʻUbayd Allāh, one of the brave warriors of his days, to cut his way out with a band of picked horsemen through the mob and to set fire to the *Arrabal* (*rabaḍ*) *del Sur*, the theologians' quarter. When the mob withdrew from the palace to extinguish the fire and to save their families and property, Ḥakam and ʻUbayd Allāh attacked the mob from two sides with such fury that the Cordovans fled pell-mell. The Negro bodyguard slaughtered them right and left. A few theologians on the very day of disturbance came to ask for pardon on behalf of the Cordovans but they were put into the prison of Adueira [1] and their guard Judayr was ordered to kill them. When Judayr hesitated and delayed in executing the order he was replaced by Ibn Nādir[2] who hanged three hundred Cordovan rebel chiefs head downwards.

Their Expulsion from Spain :—The fate of those who escaped the general massacre was left undecided until Ḥakam had consulted his wazīrs as to what to do with them. The ministers were divided in their opinions. Ḥakam, however, disapproved the idea of exterminating and hunting them to a man and

1. The present Campo de Calatrava.
2. *Cf.* Ibn al-Qūṭiyah (J. Ribera), *Historia de la Conquista de España*, Madrid, 1926, pp. 55-7/44-6 tr.

leaned to the side of those who suggested their expulsion from the country. The *Arrabal del Sur* of Secunda south of the Guadalquivir which was the stronghold of the neo-Muslims, the staunch followers of the fuqahā' was razed to the ground[1] and the rebels were ordered to quit Spain within three days on penalty of death although Yaḥyā, Ṭālūt and several other notable theologians were set free. Writing about this Scott observes, "But while the offences of the populace were thus punished with inexorable rigor, the principal offenders, the promoters of sedition, were the recipients of extraodinary clemency. The explanation of this partiality is to be found in the fact that the mass of the insurgents was of a foreign and, despite their bigoted adherence to the orthodox faith, of a detested caste. The religious teachers of the Malikites, on the other hand, were largely descended from the Koreish, and the ties of blood and the antipathies of race were considerations of greater moment in the mind of al-Ḥakam than the insult to his person or the danger to his crown. Some of the leaders who had been prominent in the late troubles were permitted to escape ; others underwent short terms of imprisonment ; many received the benefit of a general amnesty. The arch-conspirator, Yaḥyā, was of this number, and his talents or his audacity soon restored him once more to certain degree of royal favor."[2]

With the order for expulsion of the Cordovans, the general massacre and plunder ended and they with their wives and children carrying pieces of portable luggage prepared themselves to quit

1. The sensational episode earned the sobriquet al-Rabaḍ (the suburb) for Ḥakam I who composed a long poem on the same event *Cf.* Ibn Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 38 ; *Cf.* Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, pp. 50, 51 : *Cf. Majmū'ah Akhbār al-Andalus*, pp. 130, 132, 159.
2. *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, I, Philadelphia, 1904, pp. 467-8

Spain in small batches, for they were not allowed to depart in a body. But still more misery and suffering awaited them. Robbers and soldiers of bad characters hid themselves in bushes to fall upon them on their way. Those who tried to save their wealth were killed. Thus many were plundered and killed before they reached the coast, where they formed themselves into two groups one to sail for North West Africa and another for Egypt.

The Cordovans' settlement in Fez :—Eight thousand families found asylum in Morocco. They were cordially welcomed by Idrīs II in Fās (Fez) which had been founded by his father Idrīs I in 789 A. C. and where refugees from Spain had also settled earlier. They were settled in front of Madīnat al-'Alīya or al-Qayrawiyīn newly founded by Idrīs II. The Andalusian quarter became known as Madīnat al-Andalusiyīn[1] or 'Idwat al-Andalus (the Bank of the Andalusians).[2] As the 'Arabs of Qayrawān and Cordova hated each other their quarters were separated by constructing a wall between them.[3] The Cordovan refugees who were good gardeners, architects and artisans were a great asset to Fez. They utilized their experience and techniques in developing and beautifying the city and its suburbs.[4]

Their Settlement and Rule in Alexandria :— According to 'Arab historians another comparatively bigger group of Cordovan refugees, mainly warriors, 15,000 in number excluding

1. *Cf.* Gomez, E. Garcia, *Hitoria de España* (Sp. tr. from Levi-Provencal's *Histoire*), IV, Madrid, 1950, p. *111*.
2. *Cf.* Hitti, P. K., *History of the Arabs*, p. 512 n².
3. Kremer, *Description de L' Afrique*, p. 69 quoted by Mariano Gaspar, *Cordobes Musulmanes en Alejandria y Creta* in *Homenaje a Codera*, Zaragoza, 1904, p. 221n¹.
4. *Cf.* Levi-Provencal, *La Fondation e Fes* in *Ann. Inst. Et. or de Argel*, *t.* IV, 1938, pp. 23-53.

women and children, exhibited a more enterprising spirit in a far distant land and undertook a more adventurous journey than the first group which had settled in Fez. They sailed towards the East from the Mediterranean Sea and lay anchored off Alexandria about 199/814-5.[1] Amari is of the opinion that they reached Alexandria eight years after the Cordovan catastrophe. According to him during these years they sojourned here and there in Spain and North Africa till Ḥakam I or his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān II supplied them with boats to sail for distant land. Being without arms and penniless they roamed about on the other side of the Balearic islands and the land of Italy till they concentrated gradually in the suburbs of Alexandria.[2] But his views are not corroborated by Nuwayrī and other 'Arab writers who make us believe that their arrival in Alexandria was the succeeding event to Cordovan revolt.[3]

At the time when the Cordovans had raised their heads against Ḥakam I the Egyptians had also revolted against Mā'mūn the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah of Baghdād. The rebel chief 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Sari [4] had declared himself an independent ruler and with the support of the Lakhmī 'Arabs and the believers in the puritanistic doctrine established a small

1. Dozy, *Histoire*, II, p. 355 ; Herzberg, *Geschichte der Byzeantiner und des Osmanischen Reiches*, pp. 128-9 quoted by Mariano in *Homenaje a Codera*, p. 222n ; *Cf.* Albornoz, *La España Musulmana*, Argentina, pp. 136, 137.
2. *Cf. Storia del Musulmani di Sicilia*, I, 160 : *Cf.* G. Wiet, *L' Egypte de la conqueti arabe a la conqueti Ottomane* in the *Histoire de L' Nation egytptiene* G. Hauoteaux, Vol. IV, Paris, 1937, pp. 68-9, 71-2,
3. *Cf.* Gaspar y Remiro, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Fr. Tr.), II, 274 ; Maqqari, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*, 219 ' Ibn Athīr, VI, 279-281.
4. Riyāsat 'Alī, *the Ta'rikh-Undalus*, I, Azamgarh, 1950, p. 385.

republic.[1] An attempt of the people of Alexandria in this chaotic period to shake off their titular sovereignty helped the Cordovans in establishing themselves in Alexandria under the leadership of Abū Ḥafṣ ʻUmar b. ʻĪsā b. Shuʻayb al-Ballūṭī a Cordovan of the valley of Pedroches (Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ),[2] who formed an alliance with a strong native bedouin tribe but when they could not pull on well with them as they were hated and despised they fell out with them and declared their independence at Alexandria in 200/816.[3] It is related that one day a quarrel arose between a Cordovan refugee and Alexandrian butcher over a trifling matter culminating in the death of the Cordovan. Thereupon the Cordovans took up arms against the Alexandrians, killed many of them and occupied the city.[4]

In spite of all odds, and repeated attacks of the ʻAbbāsids, the Cordovans retained possession of the great entrepot of the Mediterranean and ruled over it for about twelve years.[5] They defended themselves against the ʻAbbāsids and made occasional incursions into the Mediterranean islands. This was the time when there had broken out in Byzantium a civil war being provoked by Tomas de Cappadocia against the Emperor Michael II (820-29 A. C.) of the Isaurian dynasty. The Byzantine

1. E. Garcia Gomez, IV, p. *111*.
2. *Cf.* Gomez, E. Garcia, IV, p. *111* ; *Cf.* Ibn Khaldūn (*ʻIbar*, IV, p. 211) who devotes a complete chapter on ʻUmar b. Shuʻayb, *Cf.* al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, Madrid, 1885, p. 394.
3. Conde (Historia, I, Barcelona, 1844, pp, 248-52 or 202-5) tells us a different story altogether.
4. Ibn al-Khaṭib, the *Khilāfat-i-Muwaḥḥidīn*, Ms. no 37 of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, fol. 148 quoted by Mariano in *Homenaje a Codera, p*. 223.
5. *Garcia*, Gomez, IV, p. *111*—ten years ; Scott, I, 467—more than twelve years,

possessions in the Aegean Sea had, therefore, been left unprotected.[1] Thus internal trouble in the 'Abbāsid Empire gave Abū Ḥafṣ an opportune respite to settle his followers in Alexandria leading ultimately to the establishment of his rule, similarly the civil war in the Byzantine Empire gave him opportunity to raid the Greek islands in the Aegean Sea from 821 A. C. onwards. During this period Crete, the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, where the Grecian world had first arisen thousand years ago, was also raided by the Cordovans. The famous geographer Yāqūt states that much before the final occupation of Crete a part of it had been occupied by Shu'ayb the son of Abū Ḥafṣ.[2] Vasiliev says that the Cordovans raided the island with ten or twenty vessels and took away many prisoners and rich booty to Egypt.[3]

Their Expulsion from Alexandria :—Mā'mūn the 'Abbāsid Khalīfah at last took drastic measures against the rebels in the western districts of his Empire. The 'Abbāsid Emperor appointed 'Abd Allāh, whose father Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn[4] had been viceroy of the East from 820-22 A. C. and governor of Syria and Egypt in 209/824-5. The 'Abbāsid General restored order in Mesopotamia and suppressed the rebellion of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Sarī[5] in Fusṭāṭ and marched on Alexandria in 210/April 825-6 threatening the Cordovans to surrender the city or to get ready for defence. Being hard pressed Abū Ḥafṣ accepted the first alternative on condition that he would be given

1. *Cf.* Mariano in *Homenaje*, p. 223.
2. *Cf.* 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī's work quoted by Conde, I, p. 206.
3. *Byzance et les Arabes*, Vol. I, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 54n2.
4. *Cf.* Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary* (Fr. Tr. by De Slane), Vol. II, Paris, 1843, pp, 48-53.
5. Riyāsat 'Alī, *the Ta'rīkh-i-Undalus*, Azamgarh (India) 1950, I, p. 386.

money and liberty to move with his men out of the 'Abbāsid territory. 'Abd Allāh accepted his conditions[1] and the Cordovans sailed out of Alexandria sometimes after June 826 in forty ships[2] along with their women and children towards Crete which they selected for their new abode for it offered easy conquest.[3]

Conquest of Crete :—During their long stay in Alexandria the Cordovans had taken stock of the situation in the islands of the Aegean Sea. Receiving supplies and money from the 'Abbāsids and being accompanied by volunteers[4] from Alexandria they did not feel difficulty in landing in Crete towards the end of 826 or in the beginning of 827 A. C.[5] Amari says that after landing in Crete Abū Ḥafṣ burnt some of those boats which he had acquired in Alexandria for emergency purpose and

1. Kindi. *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, ed. H. Guest, Leyden, 1912, pp. 158, 161 seq ; Riyasat 'Ali (*Ta'rīkh-i-Undalus*, I, p. 386) says that Abū Ḥafṣ claimed to be the rightful master of Alexandria because he had not taken it from the 'Abbasid Khalīfah. When it was reported to Ma'mūn whom the author confused with Hārūn, he deputed Ḥarthimah b. 'Ayn to decide the case. Ibn 'Ayn was convinced of the justness of his contention and offered a handsome amount of money as a price for his right over Alexandria.
2. Vasiliev, p. 55.
3. *Cf.* Ibn Athīr, VI, 279, 281 ; Maqqarī, I, 219 ; Ibn Khaldūn, IV, 47, 127, 211 : Vasiliew, pp. 52, 55 ; During the wars against the Byzantines Mu'āwiyah I conquered temporarily the Mediterranean islands, Rudis (Rhodes) in 672 A. C. and Iqriṭish (Crete) about two years later.
4. *Cf.* Mariano in *Homenaje a Codera*, p. 224 ; Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 269-70.
5. This is the probable date. Historians and chroniclers give different dates 211-2/June 826-827 ; *Cf.* Vasiliew, p. 56n1 ; *Cf.* E. W. Brooks, *The Arab occupation of the Crete* in *the English Historical Review*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 431-3.

which had become useless for further navigation.[1] According to the Byzantine accounts the Cordovan Amīr Abū Ḥafṣ whom they called Apocapso[2] had ordered to set to fire all the boats which might have transported the Cordovans back to their lovely country. It produced a strong reaction on the minds of the Cordovans who lost all hope of returning to Spain and reuniting with their children and wives many of whom had been left behind in Spain. They were consoled by Abū Ḥafṣ in the following words : "Why do you lament ? I have brought you to a country of abundant milk and honey. This is your actual country ; take rest in it and forget the place of your birth. Here you will have women more beautiful and charming than you had previously and they will give you all the satisfactions that you desire." [3] This is not corroborated by Muslim sources.

Settlement in Crete :—Abū Ḥafṣ established his first camp with parapets and ditches in a low land near the Bay of Lada (Souda) [4] whence it was later shifted to a highland near the promontory of Charax. Fortified with moats this camp developed, in course of time, into a town known as al-Khandaq e. g. the modern Chandax or Candia[5] a term which is also applied for the whole island. After the end of the civil war in 824 A. C. Michael II was free to turn his attention towards Crete, but he had become too exhausted to take any firm action against the Cordovans' landing or to protect his possessions in the

1. *Storia del musulman di Sicilia*, I, 160 ; *Cf.* Vasiliev, p. 55.
2. *Cf.* Mariano in *Homenaje a Codera*, p. 225.
3. *Cf*, Theophomes Continuatus, pp. 73-77,79-81 ; Symeon Magister, pp. 621-4 ; Gibbon (Sp. Tr.), VI, 406 quoted by Mariano in *Homenaje a Codera*, p. 224 ; *Cf.* Vasiliev, p. 56n3.
4. *Cf. Homenaje*, p. 224 ; Vasiliev, p. 55.
5. Vasiliev, p. 56nI ; *Cf.* E. Brooks, *The Arab occupation* of *Crete* in *the English Historical Review*, XXVIII, 1913, 431-3.

Aegean Sea from depredation of the pirates of Spain and Africa. The two expeditions that he sent for driving out the Cordovans from Crete were repulsed with heavy casualties. For the second expedition he had to pay forty gold coins to each man participating in the expedition.[1] Being master to one castle Abū Ḥafṣ easily went on conquering fort after fort till not a single fortress remained in the possession of the islanders.[2] Subsequent to the establishment of the town of al-Khandaq, according to Vasiliev, twenty new towns fell into Muslim hands and the inhabitants were reduced to submission According to him finally only one town was left in the hands of the Christians to preserve and foster their culture.[3] He thus established gradually his authority so firmly that his descendants ruled over the island for about one-hundred and thirty-five years.[4]

Abū Ḥafṣ devoted himself to the development of the country. For administrative purpose, the island was divided into forty districts.[5] Soon Crete became economically and culturally prosperous. Muslims were invited from Spain, Egypt and Syria to settle in the island which became, in course of time, a formidable stronghold of the Muslim people and their faction and culture in the Mediterranean.

The fertility and natural wealth of Crete enchanted the Muslim occupants.[6] The Cretans cultivated lands and kept herds of sheep and flocks of other animals. The chief occupation of

1. *Cf.* Vasiliev, p. 61.
2. *Cf. Homenaje*, p. 225.
3. *Cf. Byzance et les Arabes*, I, pp. 56-7
4. *Cf.* Mariano (*Homenaje*, p. 225) wrongly calculates 140 yrs.
5. *Cf.* Mariano, *Homenaje*, p. 225.
6. *Cf.* Vasiliev, p. 55nl.

the people living in the islands of the Aegean Sea was the rearing of domestic animals. This is indicated by the fact that the citizens of one of these islands had been called the people of animals (Aṣḥāb al-Baqar) by the 'Arab writers.[1] The Cretans produced honey and milk in abundance.[2] They carried on trade with neighbouring islands and coastal towns.[3] Being superior to their neighbours in naval power they did not allow mariners and merchants of other countries to sail and trade in the Aegean Sea unless they paid taxes to them.

Neither are the details of the social and cultural activities of the Cretans known nor are those of the system of the rule and administration of Abū Ḥafṣ and his descendants known. Even a complete list of the rulers of the dynasty founded by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Ballūṭī [4] has not come down to us.

Muslim Naval Centre in Crete :—In the Medieval age there were three main naval centres in the Eastern Mediterranean region. These were the Muslim centres in Syria, Africa and Crete. Of all these centres Crete was the most important. It was due to the efforts of Abū Ḥafṣ and his successors that Crete enjoyed such a distinction in the naval history of the Mediterranean Sea in the ninth and tenth centuries. It controlled the maritime activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea for about one hundred and thirty-five years from second quarter of the ninth century onwards. After occupying the island, Abū Ḥafṣ declared himself king and

1. *Cf.* Vasiliev, p. 59.
2. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 53 ; *cf.* Homenaje, p. 224n3.
3. *Cf. Homenaje*, p. 225, Riyāsat 'Alī (*The Tā'rīkh-i-Saqliyah*, II, 178) says that Sicily had relations with Andalucia, North Africa, Egypt, Malta and other Mediterranean islands.
4. *Cf.* E. De Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie et de Chronologie pour L' histoire de L' Islam* de Hannover, 1927, no. 48, p, 70 quoted by Garcia Gomez, *Historia*, IV, p. 367, n 155.

with a fleet of forty boats raided the neighbouring islands without taking into account that the Emperor of Constantinople had any power to take the Mustim raiders to task.[1] Mariano says that the Cretan Muslims amassed wealth by repeated attacks on the coast and the neighbouring islands and capturing prisoners and acquiring booty.[2] Due to the continuous raids the Aegean islands came to be deserted. A large number of the islanders were taken prisoners while others fled. Theodora of Thessalonica also migrated along with her husband and the islands fell into the hands of the Isma'ilis and remained deserted till the beginning of the 10th century.[3] Similarly due to the fear of African and Cretan raids other islands like Archipel also became deserted.[4] By their repeated raids on the Byzantine territory the Cretans created terror in the hearts of the Byzantine rulers[5] who, time and again, made counter attacks some times with success. The Byzantine fleet was completely destroyed by the Cretans' fleet off Thasos in Oct. 829 A. C. Later the Byzantine Emperor Michael II mustered a fleet of seventy ships against the Cretans near the coast of Asia Minor and captured many 'Arab prisoners.[6] But the Byzantine expedition in March 843 met the same disaster.[7] During the period of the sack of Damietta (Dimyāṭ), the Byzantines burnt a store-house for sails of ships in 238/853 and captured the supply of arms which was intended for Crete.[8] The Cretans

1. *Cf.* Albornoz, *La España Musulmana*, I, Argentina, 1946, p. 137.
2. *Cf.*, *Homenaje a Codera*, p. 225.
3. *Cf.* Vasiliev, pp. 57-8n.
4. *Cf*, *Ibid*., p. 58n2.
5. *Cf.* *Homenaje a Codera*, p. 225.
6. Cf. Vasiliev, p. 60n2.
7. Aly Mohammed Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean*, *London*, 1950, p. 72 nos. 4&5.
8. *Cf. Fahmy*, p. 73.

raided the island of Mytelene in 862 A. C. and destroyed the monastery of Athos and the small island of Neon in 866. The Byzantine Emperor, Michael III, sent a series of expeditions to occupy Crete but to no purpose.[1] Later Byzantine Emperors like Leo VI and Constantine VII led unsuccessful counter expeditions against Crete in the tenth century. The forced landing of the Byzantines in 949 A. C. during the reign of Constantine VII had been a total failure. Both these two rulers incurred heavy expenditure on the expeditions, often more than £ 140,000 on an expedition.[2] In the tenth century, the Cretans harassed the coasts of Greece and settled down in the Athens from where three Kūfī inscriptions have been discovered lately.[3] The Cretan ships not only touched the Byzantine islands in the Aegean Sea and the Greek coasts but also ravaged the Asiatic coasts in 841 and plundered the coast of Asia Minor in 862 A. C. The Cretans whose fleet consisted of twenty *gumbari*, seven galleys and some *saturae*[4] acquired rich booty in Asia Minor in the form of men and money.[5]

Byzantine Relations with Spain:— The Byzantines being hard pressed by the ʻAbbāsid attack on the eastern frontier of their Empire and the regular raids of the Cretans on Byzantine

1. *Cf.* Fahmy, p. 31 n4.
2. *Cf.* Vasiliev., p, 258.
3. *Cf.* Fahmy, p. 95 n7.
4. *Cf.* D. G. Kanpouroglous, *The Saracens in Athens in Social Science Abstracts*, vol. II, 1930, no. 273, G. Soteriou, *Arabic Remains in Athens* in *Byzantine Times*, Vol. II, 1930, No. 2360 quoted by Hitti in *the History of the Arabs*, p. 451 n4.
5. *Cf.* Finlay, G., *A History of Greece from the conquest by the Romans to the present time*, Oxford, 1877, Vol. II, p. 190-n2 ; cf. Vasiliev, p. 258 ; Bury, J. B., *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, London, 1912, p. 293n5 quoted by Fahmy, p. 73 nos. 1&2.

islands and coasts opened negotiations with the Umayyad rulers of Spain. According to Ibn Ḥayyān the Byzantine Emperor took the initiative in establishing diplomatic relations between Andalus and Byzantium. In 840 A. C. the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus sent a Greek called Qarṭīyūs who knew Arabic to the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II in Cordova with a request to conclude a treaty of friendship with him. He induced him, at the same time, to recapture his ancestral territory in the East denouncing the attitude of the 'Abbāsids and their vassals, the Aghlabids. He claimed, once again, the restoration of Crete which had been occupied by the Cordovan chief Abū Ḥafs al-Ballūṭī to him. But he could not achieve much from these negotiations nor could he create any interest in the Amīr for his ancestral territory. The Amīr was satisfied with concluding a friendly treaty with him and sending presents in return through two of his courtiers.[1] The successors of Theophilus also failed to procure aid from Cordova against the Cretans. 'Abd at-Raḥmān III, however, being influenced by the cultural and economic superiority of the Byzantines entered into friendly relations with the Greek Emperor although politically neither of the two gained anything concrete out of this friendly relation.

Cretan Relation with Spain :— To counter the Byzantine attempt the Cretans established friendly relations with the neighbouring Muslim countries. They invited Muslims from Syria, North Africa and Spain to settle down in Crete and helped the Aghlabid rulers, who were the enemies of the Byzantines, in the conquest of Sicily.[2] After settling down in Crete, the

1. *Cf.* E. Garcia Gomez, pp. 162, 346.
2. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 223. The *Aghlabid* ruler Ziyādat Allāh I (817-38) hadsent the first expedition to Sicily in 827 A. C.; but the island was finally conquered in 902.

Cordovans established commercial and cultural relations between Crete and Spain which is apparent from various indications given in the biographical notices of the ‘Arab travellers, scholars and statesmen. Ibn al-Faraḍī says that a Cordovan Marwān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Fakhkhār, the old disciple of Qāḍī Bāqī b. Makhlad, went to the East, visited many places and settled in Crete during the time of Amīr Shu‘ayb b. Abū Ḥafṣ in the tenth century. He was welcomed cordially and included in the first rank of the jurists of the island where he often received many of his countrymen. The biographer adds that after their return to Spain they related the story of the hard life that al-Fakhkhār had been living in Crete even though he possessed a house with a few storeys furnished with twenty slave girls of great value and a library specially of historical works and traditions.[1]

Re-Conquest of Crete by Byzantines :—Referring to the Byzantine reconquest of Crete, Nuwayrī says that when the Byzantine Emperor Roman II failed to capture it by fighting a pitched battle he thought of a strategem and started sending valuable presents to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, son of Ḥabīb,[2] son of ‘Umar, the ruler of Crete. Roman II sent as presents boxes full of rich garment. A friendly treaty was thus concluded, in course of time, between them. Later the Byzantine Emperor sent a Muslim envoy from among the Cretans to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. The delegate said that they were neighbours and friends and pleaded on behalf of the people of the neighbouring islands. He added that the islanders were poor and could not live a settled life due to the frequent incursions from Crete.

1. *The Kitāb Ta'rīkh-i-‘Ulamā' al-Andalus*, no. 1413, pp. 412-2 quoted by E. Garcia Gomez, p. 367 n155.
2. *Cf. Homenaje*, pp. 225, 232 ; Albornoz, I, p. 137 ; but Garcia Gomez (p. 346) calls him Shu‘ayb.

Many of those islanders, who had left the islands due to the fear of raids, wanted to return provided they were given an assurance for the safety of their life and property and provided with material aids in rehabilitation work. The Byzantine Emperor promised to pay an annual tribute, double the amount that the Cretan king used to amass from his various incursions throughout the year provided he agreed to allow them to resettle in their islands and to carry on trade between their islands and Crete and the Mediterranean regions. Believing in the good faith of the Byzantine Emperor, the Cretan king accepted the proposal and negotiated accordingly. A handsome amount which satisfied him was fixed as annual tribute payable by Byzantine Emperor.[1]

Roman II paid the tribute regularly. The Greek merchants began to carry on trade between Crete, other neighbouring islands and Constantinople. With the opening of trade, the wealth of Crete increased and her military expenses decreased. Later Constantinople suffered from famine and the Greek Emperor sent a messenger to 'Abd al-'Azīz saying that he had a number of 'Arab horses which he was unable to maintain in his country because it was visited by a draught. He sought permission from the Muslim king to send a herd of horse to his country for pasturage promising to hand over to him all the male progeny of the animals which might be born in Crete. 'Abd al-'Azīz without understanding the implication of the matter agreed to the proposal. Thus obtaining pasture lands for his 500 horses the Byzantine Emperor now thought of occupying the island itself. He sent a trained army under the command of Nicephor Phocas [2] in Muḥarram 350/ February

1, *Cf.* Albornoz, I, pp., 137-8; Mariano in *Homenaje*, pp. 225-6, 231-2.

2. *Cf.* E. G. Gomez, p. 114 ; *Homenaje*, p. 227 ; Albornoz (I, 138) writes *Niceforo el Domestico.*

961. The Byzantine fleet touched the shore in that part of the island where the Greek horses had been kept ready for the soldiers. The Muslim king and citizens were taken by surprise. 'Abd al-'Azīz tried to defend himself and the country but it was too late. The Muslim capital was taken by assault and the king alone with many of his nobles and military officials was slain. The wives and children of the Muslim nobles and soldiers were taken prisoners but the non-combatant citizens were left unmolested. The island was then fortified strongly by the Byzantines and the latter realized not only the booty double that of the amount they had spent in satisfying 'Abd al-'Azīz but occupied the island itself by their strategem. [1]

Mariano Gaspar doubts if there was any truth in the story of the re-conquest of Crete by the Byzanines as related by Nuwayrī. Other 'Arab writers like Yāqūt and Ibn Khaldūn simply mention that Nicephor attacked the island with 72,0C0 men and 5,000 horses towards the end of Jumada I, 349/ June 960. The Muslims became tired of war and compelled by the dearth of food caused by the incessant blockade of seven months.[2] Nicephorus penetrated into the island by making an assault in the middle of the month of Muḥarram 350/February 961 and captured its ruler 'Abd al-'Azīz along with many of his soldiers and attendants. A large booty fell into the hands of the Chris-

1. *Cf.* Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Arabic Ms. of the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, last folio quoted by Mariano in *Homenaje a Codera*, pp. 231-3 and see also pp. 226-227 : *Cf.* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat* (Fr. tr. by Gaspar Ramiro, vol. II) quoted by Albornoz, I, pp. 137-8.

2. Mez says that Crete was conquered by the Byzantines after a siege of eight months in 961 and Cyprus fell after five years with which ended the Muslim hold in the Mediterranean. *Cf.* Salvador Vila, *Renaissance del Islam* (Sp. tr.), p. 19.

tians. Three boats were utilizcd to carry the prisoners of war along with the rich booty to Constantinople.[1]

It matters little whether the Byzantines conquered the island by direct military assault or by adopting the strategem mentioned. But it is, of course, strange to note that the island which was the strongest Muslim naval centre in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea and created terror in the hearts of the strong Byzantine Emperors like Constantine VII fell so easy a prey to the Byzantines during the brief rule of Roman II. The capture of the island which had frustrated so many previous Byzantine expeditions till the middle of the tenth century is worthy of careful study. The reason for the fall of Crete may be related with the internal and external problems in the island on the eve of its reconquest. Even if we reject the views regarding the Byzantine conquest of Crete put forward by Nuwayrī we will have to believe that a friendly treaty must have been concluded between the Byzantine Emperor and the Cretan King as apparent from the scanty accounts of the reconquest found in other different sources. This friendly accord checked the piratical habits of the Cretans and made their ruler negligent in his military organization and vigilance. The Byzantine Emperor, on the other hand, went on increasing his military strength and utilized the full advantage of the opportunity offered by the situation. He won the friendship of the Umayyad Khalīfah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III of Spain, which might have rendered, at least moral support to 'Abd al-

1. *Cf. Homenaje a Codera*, p. 227 ; *Cf.* Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*, I, 219 ; Kindī, *Wulah*, pp. 161-5 ; Marrākushī, pp. 13-4 ; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, pp. 39-40 ; Yāqūt, I, 337 ; *Cf.* Ch. Diehl, *La monde Oriental de* 395 *a* 1081 in the *Histoire du Moyen Age*, De Glotz, III, 462 quoted by E. G. Gomez, IV, p. 367 n156.

'Azīz against the Byzantine attack. Further, the rivalry for supremacy between 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and Mu'izz, the Fāṭimid khalīfah of Egypt, gave an opportunity to the Byzantines to extend their influence in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea and ultimately over Crete.

Conversion of Cretan Muslims into Christianity :—According to Byzantine authors the last Muslim Amīr of Crete had been taken as prisoner to Constantinople where he enjoyed a court pension and his son Anemas (?)[1] was employed in the Emperor's service. The Muslims were allowed to live in the island or migrate anywhere they liked. According to the testimony of the famous geographer Iṣṭakhrī who lived and wrote in the tenth century after acquiring knowledge from his wide travels, the Cretans were mostly Muslims.[2] But soon after the fall of Crete into the hands of the Byzantines frocible conversion began. Under the Byzantine patronage some fervent missionaries devoted themselves to convert the Muslims into Christianity.[3]

The same Nuwayrī who related an interesting story about the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete writes another story as to how Cretan Muslims were converted to Christianity. In corroboration of other writers he says that on the occasion of the festival of Nativity just after the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete the Muslim chiefs of the island were invited to pay homage to the Emperor on the occasion. Accordingly, one hundred middle class Cretans were sent to Constantinople. On their arrival, they were presented before the Emperor who received them with great satisfaction and civility and each one of them was given

1. *Cf.* Mariano in *Homenaje*, p. 227 ; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 879.
2. *Cf. The Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* (B. G. A. vol. I), p. 70 ; *Cf,* Vasiliev, pp. 56-7.
3. *Cf.* Mariano in *Homenaje*, p. 227.

ten cups of gold. They returned satisfied and happy. On the occasion of the festival of *Pascua de pentecostes* the same persons were again sent to Constantinople. This time when they were presented before the Emperor they were ordered to be put into prison and kept without food and drink, later they were given the option either to accept Christianity or to die of hunger and thirst. Forced by circumstances they had to accept Christianity. Thereupon they were received hospitably and treated with affection by the Emperor. When they returned to their families they were prohibited from doing so because their family members were yet Muslims. They were now given the option either to convert their families into Christianity and live with them happily or to have them sent to prison, a place which was associated with their experience of hunger and thirst. Thus all the remaining Muslims of Crete were converted to Christianity in a single day.[1] Here again the way Nuwayrī explains the conversion of the Cretans into Christianity seems to be childish and may not be correct but the fact remains that forceful conversion of the Muslims into Christianity took place in Crete not long after its re-conquest.[2]

1. *Cf. Homenaje a Codera*, pp. 227-8.
2. *Cf.* Author's paper in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 1960, pp. 297-312.

APPENDIX B

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MUSLIM RULERS OF SPAIN

I THE UMAYYAD GOVERNORS OF CORDOVA 711-756A.C.

Ṭāriq b. Ziyād	July 711-March712	Conquerors of Spain
Mūsā b. Nuṣayr	March 712-Jan. 714	
ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz b. Mūsā	714-16 A. C.	Seville was the capital
Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī (nephew of Mūsā)	716 A. C.	Chosen by soldiers
Al-Ḥurr b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī	716-18 A. C.	
Al-Samḥ b. Malik al-Khawlānī	719-21 A. C.	Transferred the seat of Government from Seville to Cordova
ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʻAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī	721 A. C.	Chosen by soldiers for six months
ʻAnbasah b. Saḥīm al-Kalbī	721-25 A. C.	
ʻAdhrah b. ʻAbd Allāh	725 A. C.	Chosen by soldiers for a few months
Yaḥyā b. Salmah al-Kalbī	725-26 A. C.	
ʻUthmān b. ʻAlī ʻUbaydah	726-27 A. C.	Chosen by soldiers for five months
ʻUthmān b. Abī Naṣḥ al-Qāsimī	727-28 A. C.	
Ḥadhīfah b. al-Aḥwaṣ al-Qaysī	728-29 A. C.	
Al-Ḥaytham b. ʻUbayd al-Kilābī	729-30 A. C.	

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ashjī‘.	730 A. C.	
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī	730-32 A. C.	For the second time—appointed by the Khalīfah
‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Qaṭan al-Fihrī	732-34 A. C.	
‘Uqbah b. al-Ḥajjāj	734-41 A. C.	
‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Qaṭan al-Fihrī	741 A. C.	For the second time — chosen by soldiers
Balj b. Bishr al-Qushayrī	741-42 A. C.	Chosen by soldiers
Tha‘labah b. Salāmah al-‘Amilī	742-43 A. C.	Chosen by soldiers
Ḥusām b. Darrār al-Kalbī (Abū'l Khaṭṭār)	743-45 A. C.	
Thuwābah b. Salāmah al-Ḥaddānī	745-47 A. C.	His election by the soldiers was officially confirmed
Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī	747 May-756 A. C.	Elected by the Muḍarites

II THE UMAYYAD RULERS OF CORDOVA
756-1031A. C. (138-422 A. H.)

Hishām (Khalīfah of Damascus)
|
Mu‘āwīyah
|
Yaḥyā — (1) ‘Abd al- Raḥmān I al-Awwal 756-88 A. C. (138-72 A. H.) — another son
|
Sulaymān — ‘Abd Allāh — (2) Hishām I (‘Abd al-Walīd) 788-96 A.C. (172-80 A.H.)
| *

(ii) *The Banū Ḥammūd of Malaga and Algeciras* (1010-1057 A. C.)

Shaykh Ḥammūd b. Maymūn

(2) al-Qāsim
(a) 1018-1021 A. C.
(b) 1022-25 A. C.

(1) 'Alī (Amīr al-Mu'minīn)
1010-1018 A. C.

(9) Muḥammad I
at Algeciras
1035-1048/9 A.C.

Ḥasan

(3) Yaḥāy I
(i) 1021 A.C.
(ii) 1025-35 A.C.

(4) Idrīs I at Malaga
1035-39 A.C.

(10) Qāsim I
1048/9-53 A. C.

five others

Hishām

'Āqīl

(7) Idrīs II
(i) 1043-47 A. C. &
(ii) 1053-55 A. C.

(6) Ḥasan
1039-41 A. C.

(12) Muḥammad II (1055-57)

(5) Yaḥyā II (1039 A.C.)

(11) Idrīs III
1053 A. C.

(8) Muḥammad I
1047-53 A. C.

Ḥasan

'Alī

'Abd Allāh

'Alī

Idrīs

(iii) *The Banū Zīrī of Granada* (1012-1090 A. C.)

Zīrī

Maksān
| *

(1) Zāwī
(1012-19 A. C.)

* (2) Ḥabbūs
(1019-38 A. C.)
|
(3) Bādīs
(1038-73 A. C.)
|
(4a) 'Abd Allāh at Granada (1073-90 A. C.)
(4b) Tamīm at Malaga (1073-90 A. C.)

(iv) *The Slav Rulers of Almeria, Murcia, Denia and the Balearic Islands*
(C. 1013-1115 A. C.)

a) Khayrān of Almeria (d. 419/1028)
b) Zuhayr of Murcia (d. 429/1038)
(c) Mujāhid of Denia and the Balearic islands (d. 436/1045)
d) and others

(v) *The Banū Hūd of Saragossa* (1010-1118 A.C.)

Al-Mundhir (d. 1023 A.C. great-grandson of Muḥammad Hāshim the Tujubid governor of Saragossa during the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III)
|
Yaḥyā (1023-29 A. C.)
|
Murdhir II (1029-39 A.C. killed by 'Abd Allāh governor of Lerida)
|
Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd (Mu'taṣim I) 1039-46 A. C.
|
Aḥmad al-Muqtadir (1046-81 A. C.)
|
Yūsuf al-Mu'taman (1081-85 A. C.)
|
Aḥmad al-Musta'īn II (grandson of Aḥmad al-Muqtadir) (1085-1110 A. C.)
|
'Abd al-Malik 'Imād al-Dawlah (1110-18 A. C.)

(vi) *The Banū Dhū al-Nūn of Toledo* (1035-1085 A. C.)

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Amīr b. Muṭarrif b. Dhū al-Nūn

|

Ismā'īl al-Ẓafīr
1036-1043/4 A.C.

|

Abū'l Ḥasan Yaḥyā al-Mā'mūn
(1043-75 A.C.)

|

Ismā'īl

|

Yaḥyā al-Qādir
(1075-85 A.C.)

(vii) *The Banū 'Abbâd of Seville* (1023-1091 A.C.)

Qāḍī Ismā'īl (great-grandson of 'Abbād)

|

Abū'l Qāsim Muḥammad I
(1023-42 A. C.)

|

Ismā'īl (killed in 1039 A. C.) | Abū 'Amr 'Abbād al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh (1042-69 A.C.

|

Abu'l Qāsim Muḥammad II
al-Mu'tamid (1069-91 A. C.)

IV THE NORTH AFRICAN RULERS

(i) *The Murābiṭūn of Morocco in Spain* (1091-1147 A. C.)

(1) 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn (killed in 1059 A. C.) succeeded by his disciple

|

(2) Abū Bakr b. 'Umar (1059-1061 A.C.) succeeded by his cousin

| *

*(3) Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (1061-1107 A.C.)

(4) 'Alī (1107-43 A.C.)

(5) Tāshufīn (1143-45 A.C.)   (7) Isḥāq (1146-47 A.C.)

(6) Ibrāhīm (1145 A.C.)

(ii) *The Muwaḥḥidūn of Morocco in Spain* (1147-1228 A. C.)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Tumart al-Mahdī
(1121/22-1128 A. C.)
Succeeded by his disciple

'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī, Amīr al-Mu'minīn
(1128-63 A. C.)

'Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh
1163 A. C. deposed soon

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Amīr
al-Mu'minīn (1163-84 A. C.)

Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr bi'llāh
(1184-99 A. C.)

Muḥammad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh
(1199-1213 A. C.)

*

* Yūsuf Abū Ya'qūb al-Mustanṣir
bi'llāh (1214-24 A. C.)

'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Makhlū
(1224 A. C.)

Abū Muḥammad al-'Ādil
(d. 1227 A. C.)

Abū 'Alī Idrīs al-Mā'mūn,
Amīr al-Mu'minīn
(1227-32 A. C.)
(He lost Spain about 1228 A. C. and his four successors ruled over Morocco up to 1269 A. C.)

V THE BANŪ NAṢR OF GRANADA
1232-1492 A.C.

Aḥmad b. Naṣr

Yūsuf

(1) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad I
(1232-73 A.C.)

Ismā'īl

Faraj

(2) Abū 'Abd Allāh
Muḥammad II
1273-1302 A.C.

(5) Abū'l Walīd
Isma'īl (1314-25 A.C.)

Muḥammad

Isma'īl

(3) Muḥammad III
al-Makhlū
(1302-1309 A.C.)

(4) Abū'l Juyūsh Naṣr
(1309-14 A.C.)

(10) Abū Sa'īd
Muḥammad VI
(1360-62)

*(6) Abū 'Abd Allāh

*(7) Abū'l Ḥajjāj

*daughter

*Muḥammad IV (1325-33 A.C.)

Yūsuf I (1333-54)

married to Aḥmar ibn al-Mawl

(16) Yūsuf IV 1432 A.C.

(8) Muḥammad V al-Ghanī bi'llāh (1354-59 A.C. & 1362-91 A.C.)

(9) Ismā'īl II (1359-60 A.C.)

Naṣr

(II) Abū'l Ḥajjāj Yūsuf II (1391-92 A.C.)

(15) Muḥammad IX (1427-29 A.C.)

Amīr 'Alī

(12) Muḥammad VII (1392-1408 A.C.)

(13) Abū 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf III (1408-1417 A.C.

(18) Sa'd (1455-65 A.C.)

(21) Abū 'Abd 'Allāh Muḥammad XII 1483-87 A.C.

(19) Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī (1465-82 A.C.) & 1483 A.C.

'Uthmān

(17) Muḥammad X 1445-55 A. C.

(14) Muḥammad VIII al-Aythar 1417-27 A.C., 1429-32 A.C. and 1432-45 A.C.

(20) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XI Boabdil 1482-83 A.C. and 1487-91 A.C.

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APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN RULERS OF NORTH SPAIN

711 A. C. Defeat of Roderick by Ṭāriq

718 A. C. Rising of Pelayo in Asturias : Probable date of the battle of Covadonga

739 A. C. Alfonso I founded the kingdom of Asturias

757 A. C. Alfonso I was succeeded by his son Fruela I

768 A. C. Fruela was succeeded by Aurelio, Silo and Mauregato one after another

781 A. C. Alfonso II succeeded Bermudo I

798 A. C. Borrel, a Frankish noble became the first lord of Gothic March, a principality extending from the Pyrenees to the Ebro and from Pamplona to Barcelona

842 A. C. Alfonso II died

865 A. C. Wifredo I el Velloso declared his independence at Barcelona

866 A. C. Alfonso III the Magnificent ascended the throne of Astur-Leones kingdom

898 A. C. Wifredo I el Velloso, the Count of Barcelona, was succeeded by his son Wifredo II Borrel

905 A. C. Sancho Garces I founded the Vascon (Navarre) kingdom

910 A. C. Alfonso III died and succeeded by his son Garcia I

914 A. C. Wifredo II the Count of Barcelona was succeeded by his brother Sunier ; Gracia I of Leon died and was succeeded by his brother Ordoño II

924 A. C. Ordoño II of Leon died and was succeeded by his brother Fruela II

925 A. C. Fruela II died and was succeeded by Alfonso IV son of Ordoño II

926 A. C. Sancho Garces I of Vascon kingdom was succeeded by his infant son Garcia Sanchez I under the regentship of his widow mother (d. 960)

C.930A.C. Fernan Gonzalez son of Gonzalo Nuñez declared his independence in Castile

930 A. C. Alfonso IV of Leon was succeeded by his brother Ramiro II

950 A. C. Ramiro II was succeeded by his son Ordoño III

954 A. C. Sunier the Count of Barcelona was succeeded by his sons Borrel (954-992) and Miron (954-966)

955 A.C. Ordoño III of Leon was succeeded by his brother Sancho I the Fat

956 A. C. Ordoño IV son of Alfonso IV rebelled against Sancho the Fat and ruled in Asturias till he died in 960

965 A. C. Sancho the Fat was succeeded by his son Ramiro III

970 A. C. Fernan Gonzalez the Count of Castile was succeeded by his son Garcia Fernandez ; Garcia Sanchez I of Navarre was succeeded by Sancho Garces II Abarca

984 A. C. Ramiro III of Leon was succeeded by Bermudo II son of Ordoño III

992 A. C. Borrel of Barcelona was succeeded by Ramon Borrel (d. 1019)

995 A. C. Sancho Garces II was succeeded by Garcia Sanchez II ; Garcia Fernandez of Castile was succeeded by Sancho Garcia (d. 1021)

999 A. C. Bermudo II of Leon was succeeded by Alfonso V

1000 A. C. Garcia Sanchez II of Navarre was succeeded by Sancho Garces III the Great (d. 1032)

1028 A. C. Alfonso V of Leon died

1035 A. C. Ferdinand I ascended the throne of Leon and Castile ; Ramiro I ascended the throne of Aragon

1065 A. C. Fernando I was succeeded by Alfonso VI in Leon

1109 A. C. Alfonso VI died and was succeeded by his daughter Doña Urraca

1126 A.C. Urraca died and was succeeded by her son Alfonso VII from her first husband Raymond of Burgundy

1133 A. C. Alfonso VII was crowned as Emperor of Navarre and Catalonia

1134 A. C. Alfonso I of Aragon, the second husband of Urraca, died and was succeeded by his brother Ramiro II

1137 A. C. Ramiro II abdicated the throne in favour of his daughter Doña Petronila married with Ramon Berenguer IV, the Count of Barcelona

1157 A. C. Alfonso VII of Leon was succeeded by Fernando II at Leon and Sancho in Castile

1158 A. C. Sancho was succeeded by Alfonso VIII in Castile

1162 A. C. Ramon Berenguer the ruler of Aragon was succeeded by Pedro known as Alfonso II

1188 A. C. Fernando II was succeeded by Alfonso IX at Leon

1196 A. C. Alfonso II died and was succeeded by his son Pedro II who died in 1213 near Toulouse fighting against the French

1213 A. C. Pedro II was succeeded by John I in Aragon

1214 A. C. Alfonso VIII was succeeded in Castile by his son Enrique I who ruled on behalf of his sister Berenguela, wife of Alfonso IX of Leon

1217 A. C. Fernando III succeeded his mother Berenguela in Castile

1230 A. C. Fernando III occupied Leon after the death of his father Alfonso IX

1252 A. C. Fernando III of Leon was succeeded by Alfonso X
1276 A. C. James I was succeeded by Peter III
1284 A. C. Alfonso X was succeeded by Sancho IV the Fierce
1285 A. C. Peter III of Aragon was succeeded by Alfonso III
1291 A. C. Alfonso III of Aragon was succeeded by James II
1296 A. C. Sancho IV was succeeded by Fernando IV
1312 A. C. Frenando IV of Leon was succeeded by Alfonso XI
1327 A. C. James II of Aragon was succeeded by Alfonso IV
1336 A. C. Alfonso IV of Aragon was succeeded by Peter IV
1350 A. C. Alfonso XI of Leon was succeeded by Peter the Cruel
1368 A. C. Peter the Cruel was succeeded by Henry II of Tras-tamara
1379 A. C. Henry II of Leon was succeeded by John I
1387 A. C. Peter IV of Aragon was succeeded by John I
1390 A. C. John I of Leon was succeeded by Henry III
1395 A. C. John I of Aragon was succeeded by Martin (d. 1410)
1406 A. C. Henry III of Leon was succeeded by John II of Castile
1412 A. C. Ferdinand I of Antequera ascended the throne of Aragon
1416 A. C. Ferdinand I was succeeded by Alfonso V the Magnanimous
1454 A. C. John II of Castile was succeeded by Henry IV the Important
1458 A. C. Alfonso V was succeeded by his brother John I in Aragon
1474 A. C. Henry IV was succeeded by his sister Isabella in Castile
1479 A. C. John I was succeeded by Ferdinand V the Catholic who had married his niece Isabella the Catholic in 1469
1504 A. C. Isabella (the Queen of Ferdinand) died
1516 A. C. Ferdinand the Catholic died and was succeeded by Charles I (V)

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